# Archaeology and History in Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece

STUDIES ON METHOD AND MEANING
IN HONOR OF TIMOTHY E. GREGORY

Edited by

WILLIAM R. CARAHER,
LINDA JONES HALL
AND R. SCOTT MOORE

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY IN ROMAN, MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL GREECE

Timothy E. Gregory

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Acknowledgments

List of Abbreviations

[These are adapted from the *American Journal of Archaeology* list with some additions; see *ODB* and *OCD3* for abbreviations of Ancient and Medieval sources.]

ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
ActaArch	*Acta Archaeologica.* Copenhagen
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AnalBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AnatSt	*Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*
ANSMN	*American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*
ArchDelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion*
Archaeology	*Archaeology.* An Official Publication of the Archaeological Institute of America
ArchJ	*Archaeological Journal*
ArtB	*The Art Bulletin*
BABesch	*Bulletin antieke beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology*
BalkSt	*Balkan Studies*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*
BAR-IS	*British Archaeological Reports, International Series*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
Belleten	*Belleten. Türk tarih kurumu*
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review [online]*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
Britannia	*Britannia. A Journal of Romano-British and Kindred Studies*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BSEB	*Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*
Byzantion	*Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines*
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
CÉFR	*Collection de l'École française de Rome*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
CurrAnthr	*Current Anthropology*
CW	*Classical World*
DenkschrWien	*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

GazArch	*Gazette archéologique*
GBA	*Gazette des beaux-arts*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
Hesperia	*Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
IJCT	*International Journal of the Classical Tradition*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JAS	*Journal of Archaeological Science*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JIES	*Journal of Indo-European Studies*
JMA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
JOAS	*Journal of the Old Athlone Society*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
MeditArch	*Mediterranean Archaeology. Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World*
MÉFR	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology (formerly BiblArch)*
OCD3	*Oxford Classical Dictionary, 3rd edn.*
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, A. Kazhdan et al., eds, 3 vols, New York and Oxford, 1991.*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
Olba	*Olba, published by Mersin University, Research Center of Cilician Archaeology*
PastPres	*Past and Present*
PPS	*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
RÉByz	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
SIMA	*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*
SkrAth	*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*
SO	*Symbolae Osloenses*
StArch	*Studia Archaeologica*
TravMém	*Travaux et mémoires. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantine. Paris*
TürkArkDerg	*Türk arkeoloji dergisi*
WorldArch	*World Archaeology*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

PART I
Introduction

A Tribute to Timothy E. Gregory

William R. Caraher, Linda Jones Hall, and R. Scott Moore

Timothy E. Gregory received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. in 1972 from the University of Michigan where he studied with the distinguished Byzantinist Paul Alexander and the noted Roman historian John W. Eadie. After receiving his Ph.D., he taught for several years at Penn State before joining the faculty at Ohio State University in 1978, where he has taught for close to thirty years in the Department of History. During this time he crossed paths with numerous other scholars, graduate students, and undergraduates, and he has rarely failed to make some kind of impact on their lives as scholars and academic citizens. This volume is a tribute to his influence on a generation of scholars who have worked to understand expansive and relatively unexplored tableaux of the post-Antique Eastern Mediterranean.

Gregory was a member of the cohort of scholars who during the 1970s began to exert a crucial influence on the development of the study of Late Antiquity. This period represented a key moment in the study of the Late Roman world and, more broadly, the Mediterranean. Scholars had begun to process the massive work of A.H.M. Jones's *Later Roman Empire* and had just come to know Peter Brown's highly influential *The World of Late Antiquity* as well as John Hayes' watershed work, *Late Roman Pottery*.[1] At the same time, the Mediterranean World was emerging as a topic of study in Fernand Braudel's great experiment in total history: *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*.[2] The appearance of this work in English stimulated a new interest in producing richly integrated regional studies drawing together material from a wide range of sources. This innovation met the needs of scholars interested in the Late Roman world for which the textual evidence provided only a partial window into this tumultuous time. Moreover, the emphasis on regional studies by the *Annalistes* fit well the increasingly fragmented world at the end of Antiquity. The emerging trends in local archaeological investigation, especially as practiced by survey archaeologists under the influence of archaeological paradigms in the Americas and the Near East, complemented historical research on the regional scale and often coincided with the systemic emphases characteristic of the *Annales* school.[3] Gregory, like many of his peers, found in this moment a crucial opportunity to bring together the numerous strands of evidence for the post-Classical world to produce a far more sophisticated image of Late Antiquity.

Like his advisor Paul Alexander, Gregory infused his historical study with a sound understanding of the Greek language, thereby producing a strong foundation in both

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1   Jones 1964; Brown 1971a, 1988; Hayes 1972.
2   Braudel 1972.
3   Most notably: McDonald and Rapp 1972; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982.

historical and philological methods. Such traditional, philological training is visible in Gregory's work throughout the 1970s and 1980s in a series of articles exploring various influences on the dynamic urban environment in Late Antiquity, including the seminal study of Novatianism in English.[4] For this work Gregory drew on a corpus of rich and complex Late Antique texts that had been somewhat neglected by historians, including the *Acta* of the Ecumenical Councils and Late Roman historians such as Zosimus, Socrates, and Sozomen. These early textual studies culminated in his 1979 book, *Vox Populi*, which explored the role of the Christological controversies in urban violence in 5th century Constantinople and other Eastern cities.[5] This book also signaled Gregory's strong interest in Late Roman religion and religious change, as well as his willingness to employ sociological and anthropological models to inform his studies – a commitment that also appears in his archaeological work. This willingness to integrate historical, philological, and the theorizing of the social sciences in the study of Late Antique religion continued in his most influential article on the topic—"The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay"—as well as several other significant contributions on post-Classical religion in Greece.[6] While Gregory's approach to Late Antique religion in some ways paralleled Peter Brown's work,[7] Gregory showed a far greater willingness to see religion itself as a causal agent in the behavior of individuals in the Late Roman past. Gregory's work, along with that of such early pioneers as E. R. Dodds and contemporaries like Brown, recognized Late Roman religion, both emerging Christianity and the long final days of paganism, as vital, independent social forces, rather than merely the epiphenomenal detritus of a collapsing civilization.[8]

Contemporary with his work on Late Roman religion, Gregory was becoming more familiar with the material culture of the Ancient world as he spent several complete academic years at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. During this time he became familiar with the work of Alison Frantz who introduced him to the storerooms of the Athenian Agora excavations and their relatively untapped wealth of Post-Classical ceramics. Moreover, he spent considerable time excavating in and around the ancient city of Corinth. Returning to the Eastern Mediterranean nearly every subsequent year, Gregory soon developed the foundation for much of his future work which sought to meld specialized expertise in multiple areas of historical study, ranging from Late Antique literary texts to numismatics, epigraphy, and especially ceramics, with the broader, more generalized perspective of the historian interested in regional systems of exchange, settlement, and social organization.[9] These interests broadened his work beyond the study of excavated material culture, to encompass the emerging field of survey archaeology. Gregory's expertise in the area of Roman and Byzantine ceramics enabled him to contribute to

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4   Gregory 1975a.
5   Gregory 1973, 1975a, 1979a, 1983d.
6   Gregory 1986a. On oracles: Gregory 1983c, 1984b.
7   Brown 1971b.
8   Dodds 1965. For the influence of Dodds on Brown, see Brown 1997, pp. 19–21.
9   Numismatics: Gregory 1974, 1983a, 1993a; Epigraphy: Gregory 1979b; Ceramics: Gregory 1986b, 1987a, 1989, 1993b, 1993c, 2003; Gregory et al. 1987.

the pioneering Argolid Exploration Project and in the later phases of the Minnesota Messenia Expedition, as well as providing a basis for him to direct his own projects, such as the Ohio Boeotia Expedition and a series of smaller, yet ground-breaking surveys in the Eastern Corinthia.[10] These projects reveal a growing interest in a regional level approach to the archaeological record and in the development of an approach rooted in local or micro-history.

Gregory's leadership of these projects set the foundation for his promotion to Co-Director of the Isthmia Excavations in 1980, thus succeeding Paul Clement in directing the excavation and study of the Roman Bath, the Byzantine Fortress, and the Hexamilion Wall at the Pan-Hellenic site of Isthmia.[11] His work on the fortifications at Isthmia complemented earlier publications on Late Roman urbanism generally and coupled with his study of the Late Roman wall at Corinth, led to a substantial body of interpretive work on Late Roman fortifications in Greece.[12] As Co-Director of the Isthmia Excavations, he published *Isthmia V: The Hexamilion and Fortress*, and will co-author the final publication of the Roman bath.[13] He has also fostered the research of Joseph Rife, who will publish *Isthmia IX: The Roman and Byzantine Graves and Human Remains*.[14] In keeping with his earlier, more traditionally historical scholarship, his work on these projects took a particular interest in Medieval or Dark Age material dating from Late Antiquity through the Byzantine period. This represented a significant change from the typical practice of Greek archaeology, in which the study of the Classical period stood pre-eminent, as it perhaps does even today. Gregory and a handful of other contemporary scholars have worked diligently to show how the most traditional archaeological method, excavation, could contribute to the study of post-Classical Greece, and how the most humble vessels, such as the so-called "Slavic" pots found at Isthmia, could reveal valuable chronological and social data.[15]

While Gregory's research in the Corinthia has continued to use excavation as a method for revealing the post-Classical past, he has also been committed to regional and landscape approaches to archaeological research.[16] The foundations of this approach have tended to be in survey archaeology, but the study of the landscape has also always required a strong background in textual, epigraphic, architectural, and topographic study. Moreover, regional surveys, particularly those committed to the study of such aspects of the *longue durée* as settlement change, require a willingness to study the past in a diachronic mode. Thus, his roles in several large-scale regional survey projects, as the ceramicist for the Sydney-Cyprus Survey Project, and as Director of and ceramicist for the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey and the Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey, reflect his

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10 Gregory 1980a, 1982a, 1983b, 1984a, 1985, 1986b, 1992a, 1996, 1997; Gregory, Kardulias, and Sawmiller 1995.

11 Gregory and Mills 1984, Gregory and Kardulias 1990.

12 Gregory 1979c, 1982b, 1982c, 1984a, 1987b, 1992b, 2000, 2001.

13 Gregory 1993e; Yegul and Gregory (in preparation).

14 Rife (Forthcoming).

15 Gregory 1993d.

16 Gregory 1986c, 1994b.

ability to analyze and interpret the varied evidence for landscape change through time.[17] These large synthetic projects have reinforced the dynamic between specific expertise and synthetic impulse present in Gregory's scholarship. On the one hand, these projects have proposed methodological advances in the field of Mediterranean archaeology, his most significant contribution being the Chronotype system, a systematic, albeit controversial, method for collecting, documenting, and interpreting survey artifacts.[18] On the other hand, his willingness to contribute to specialized methodological discourses has reinforced his efforts to revise master narratives for our understanding of settlement patterns, economic history, and even political history in the Late Roman, Byzantine, and even Early Modern periods.[19]

In particular, Gregory's work at both Isthmia and elsewhere shed light on ex-urban and sub-urban space during the post-Classical era. Isthmia, for example, following its role as a pan-Hellenic sanctuary, became a fortification and later, a settlement.[20] His fieldwork revealed the maze of Frankish streets and buildings on the sloping height of Ayios Vasilieos in the Southern Corinthia.[21] The coast of the Eastern Corinthia and the islands of the Saronic Gulf came alive with activity in the Late Roman period.[22] Gregory's research also transformed the previous interpretation of Corinthian and Saronic Gulf islands, as places of "refuge" for an oppressed and threatened populace, to marginal lands utilized during periods of exceptional economic vitality and population growth. In contrast to earlier work which focused on urban areas, Gregory's work in the 1980s and 1990s, and indeed today, has emphasized the dynamic nature of the countryside and helped to define the post-Antique world as a time of economic, social, and political vitality.

Tim Gregory's wide range of interests and expertise, reminiscent of scholars of an earlier era, has allowed him to recognize the broader significance in his studies of specific topics or material. Some of this is evident in his work as Editor of archaeology and historical geography for the exhaustive *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, prepared at Dumbarton Oaks.[23] The articles that he authored reveal the range of his specialized expertise that includes areas as varied as narrative history, religious disputes, architecture, ceramics, and regional and urban topography. In 2005, he published the textbook *A History of Byzantium*, which provides a valuable synthesis of the political, social, and religious history of Byzantium.[24] His current project, a history of Byzantine Greece based on the archaeological evidence, reflects his continuing interest in making the small details speak to big-picture historiographical issues.

Gregory's commitment to diachronic, regional, and interdisciplinary research is perhaps best known to his students. His lectures, seminars, study tours, and field

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17   Gregory et al. 1999; Gregory et al. 2002; Gregory, Given, and Knapp 2003; Gregory et al. 2006; Gregory 2007.

18   Gregory 2004.

19   Gregory 1994b; Gregory 2007

20   Gregory and Kardulias 1990.

21   Gregory 1994a.

22   Gregory 1979, 1986b, 1997; Gregory, Kardulias, and Sawmiller 1995.

23   Kazhdan et al. 1991.

24   Gregory 2005.

schools have exposed students of all kinds–from first-semester freshmen to graduate students and academic colleagues–to his work. He is a pedagogical innovator at Ohio State University, among the first faculty members in the Humanities to use the web as a teaching tool, and creating online courses within the Department of History, thereby allowing students to travel via the internet to Greece's archaeological sites. Gregory's openness to innovation and his wide range of knowledge attracted a diverse cadre of graduate students both at The Ohio State University and elsewhere. As a result, he has advised students writing numerous dissertations on topics ranging from Late Roman Beirut to landscape archaeology and the relations between Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Greece.[25] The contributions to this volume reflect his interests and influences as a teacher, colleague, and friend. Gregory's patience as a mentor and colleague has produced a kind of loyalty that the editors think is reflected in this volume. While the editors can hardly speak for the diverse group of contributors here, which includes former students, long-time colleagues, collaborators, and friends, it is still notable that all the papers in this volume, as diverse as they are, reflect the influence of Timothy Gregory's contribution to the study of material culture, texts, and the Post-Classical world.

The first group of essays, entitled "Methods and Analyses," reflects Gregory's continuing interest in the relationship of archaeology and text, as well as the practice of archaeology and archaeological method. The first two articles, by Effie Athanassopoulos and Penelope Allison, speak to the tension between text and material culture that Gregory's scholarship has sought to reconcile. Rothaus et al.'s article continues in this vein as it compares how we read ancient descriptions of disasters to modern first-hand descriptions of seismic events for which we have far more geological data. Frey tackles a similar issue with his study of how the interpretations presented by Early Modern travelers have influenced our reading of ancient sites.

The other four papers in the first section deal with the practical implications of certain methodological advances advocated by Gregory over the course of his career. R. Scott Moore's and Richard Yerkes's articles examine some significant methodological advances employed in Gregory's fieldwork and track how these advances have influenced archaeological work elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Moore's emphasis on the Chronotype system highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the use of this controversial system for cataloguing survey pottery over the last decade. Yerkes' experiences with sub-surface remote sensing evokes some of Gregory's early uses of these techniques to map the remains present at the Byzantine fortification at Isthmia. Kardulias employs the techniques of ethnoarchaeology, experimental archaeology, and historical analogy, to unpack modern perceptions of farming and return the farmer to the archaeological landscape. Like Moore and Yerkes, Kardulias is deeply interested in the methods that archaeologists employ to recreate past activities in the landscape, and his article speaks as much to this methodological challenge as to any particular issue. The final piece in this first section is Samuel Fee's article, which examines how archaeological data are made available on the web both for analysis by colleagues and as the basis for instruction.

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25 Hall 2004; Pettegrew 2006; Rothaus 2000.

The second group of essays considers how the methodological advances in the study of the landscape have influenced our reading of the Post-Classical world. The contributions emphasize the continuities and transformations of the Post-Classical landscape through time, and demonstrate the vitality and validity of the methods discussed in the first section. The term "landscape" here includes both urban areas, as seen in Yegul's treatment of the Baths of Constantinople, and rural areas like the islands of Kythera (Caraher, Paspalas, Tsortzopoulos-Gregory), Lesvos (Kaldelis), and the Eastern Corinthia (Pettegrew and Tsortzopoulos-Gregory). In addition, our contributors show an awareness of the ever-expanding corpus of liminal spaces that are neither rural nor urban, but, in the experience of an individual, may oscillate in between (Kourelis, Paspalas, Rife).

The conceptual unity of these studies belies their varied methods and evidence. Several of the contributors, Rife, Kourelis, and Tzortzopoulos-Gregory, draw upon epigraphy. Some, like Caraher and Yegul read architectural evidence against the evidence from texts. Others like Kourelis, Pettegrew and Kaldelis draw upon an array of archaeological evidence. Paspalas examines an icon. The diversity of evidence employed by these scholars both evokes Gregory's commitment to a holistic analysis of the Post-Classical world, and recognizes a diachronic discourse in the spirit of the *Annalistes' longue durée*. In all, these works demonstrate the influence, spirit, and subject interests of Timothy Gregory and, we hope, stand as a testimony and tribute to his continuing career as a scholar and teacher.

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PART II
Methods and Analyses

Medieval Archaeology in Greece:
A Historical Overview

Effie F. Athanassopoulos

Abstract

The archaeological study of the Medieval period has been slow to develop in Greece. The lack of interest in this time period can be partly explained by the dismal picture of Byzantium painted by several intellectuals of the Enlightenment. Furthermore, the Hellenic ideals adopted by the newly independent state of Greece sought to connect Modern Greece with the glorious Classical past. In contrast, Byzantium was viewed as a long Dark Age that interfered with the efforts to establish an unbroken continuity between Antiquity and the re-born state. It was not until the end of the 19th century that Byzantium was rediscovered and rehabilitated, mainly through the efforts of Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. With Paparrigopoulos's work, Byzantium was transformed from an outcast to an integral part of Greek history and identity. However, these ideas did not have any immediate impact on the field of archaeology, which continued to focus on the Classical period. Here it is necessary to make a distinction between the archaeology of daily life versus the architectural history of monuments. Interest in Byzantine art and architecture grew steadily in the late 19th and 20th centuries. In contrast, archaeology of everyday life based on excavations of settlements, rural farmhouses, etc., is still in its infancy. In the last two decades a number of excavations and regional surveys are rapidly changing this picture, and mark a phase of rapid growth of Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeology in Greece.

Introduction

This paper provides a historical overview of the development of Medieval archaeology in Greece. Overall, the archaeological study of the Medieval period, more frequently known as the Byzantine period, has been slow to develop. Its slow growth can be contrasted with the rapid development that characterized the archaeology of the Classical period throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. One of the goals here is to understand the reasons for this disparity. Thus, first, it is important to examine the ideological framework that shaped the discipline of Greek archaeology in its formative stage during the 19th century.

Archaeology and the emerging state

In 19th-century Greece, Archaeology played a significant role in the process of nation building and the construction of national identity. The modern state of Greece was formed in the 1830s, and from the very beginning became closely entangled with Western European nationalist discourses.[1] Western European nationalism was the outcome of a process of economic and social change that gradually came to invest sovereignty in the entire population of states, rather than in their rulers and their families.[2] For this reason, Classical ideals like Athenian democracy became particularly relevant to the social issues and debates of the time. The romance of Greece in the European imagination grew rapidly in the last quarter of the 18th century, and the first decades of the 19th. During this time Hellenism was born, a movement which glorified Ancient Greece and its perceived unique qualities; it deduced from Ancient Greece the model of a just society. An idealized Ancient Greece became the birthplace of the European spirit.[3]

In turn, the Modern Greek state sought to establish cultural continuity with Ancient Greece, and the antiquities became its advocates in this effort. This fundamental principle permeated all governmental policies and guided the planning of the new capital. Athens was chosen for that role in 1834. The Ancient monuments of the city, and especially the Acropolis and its surroundings, became a source of inspiration and legitimation for the state. They formed the core of an emerging national identity which emphasized the resurrection of ancient glory and the connection of Modern Greece with the Classical past.

In contrast, Byzantium represented a past which had no place in the national narrative. It was perceived as a long Dark Age that interfered with the efforts of the decision makers to establish an unbroken continuity between Classical Antiquity and the re-born state of Modern Greece. As a result, many Medieval structures were demolished in the new capital, especially on the Acropolis, which was "cleansed" systematically in the course of the 19th century. For example, the Frankish palace at the *Propylaia* was removed in the 1830s.[4] Also, churches in the lower town were demolished because they stood too close to the ancient monuments. They were viewed as Post-Classical 'debris' that distorted the Classical structures. Their demolition was also expected to yield ancient inscriptions or fragments of columns, valuable relics which would be thus "rescued" from the ruins. There are several well-documented examples of demolished Athenian churches, including, for example, the church of *Asomaton sta Skalia* built against Hadrian's Library, the small church of *Sotira* built near the Roman Agora gate, the church of *St. Elias sto Staropazaro* in the vicinity of the Roman Agora, and the *Megali Panagia* built within the Library of Hadrian. In addition to these, many other churches were destroyed. Frequently, they were viewed as obstacles to the opening of new roads and to the beautification of the town. According to one estimate, approximately 75 churches met that fate.

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1   Peckham 2001, p. 26.
2   Trigger 1995, p. 267.
3   Morris 1994.
4   Mallouchou-Tufano 1994; Tanoulas 1997.

They are recorded on maps of the early 1830s, but they disappeared in the next few decades.[5]

Byzantium: The Long, Dark Age

It is of interest to examine in more detail the source of this contempt for the Byzantine monuments and heritage exemplified by the actions described previously. The origin of this contempt for the Greek Medieval past goes back to the Enlightenment and to the strong anti-Byzantinism that was expressed by prominent intellectuals of the 18th century. Voltaire and Montesquieu viewed the Eastern Roman empire as a world filled with court intrigues, theological disputes, and religious fanaticism.[6] Voltaire saw Byzantine history as "a disgrace to the human mind," a worthless collection that contains nothing but declamations and miracles. For Montesquieu the history of the Greek Empire was "a tissue of rebellions, sedition and treachery."[7] For the historian Gibbon, Byzantium represented the mere degeneracy of Rome. Byzantine history was to him "a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery."[8] According to Runciman, Gibbon's ideas reflect the "temperamental distaste he had for a civilization so alien to his 18th-century standards."[9] Gibbon's views had tremendous influence in Western Europe, and shaped subsequent historical research. However, the negative attitudes of the Enlightenment toward Byzantium should be viewed in their historical context; they were an outgrowth of the opinions, held in Medieval times by western Europeans, toward both Orthodox Christianity and the people of the Byzantine Empire. Religious differences and competition, which culminated in the conquest of Constantinople and the partition of the Byzantine lands by the crusaders in A.D. 1204, had created a deep rift between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East.[10]

This hostility towards Byzantium was adopted by the western-educated Greek intelligentsia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, during the formative years of the Greek national consciousness, before the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821. The influential Greek intellectual Adamantios Koraes is one of the best known examples. In Koraes's eyes, what today we call Byzantine history was "Hellenism in decline," or the period of the "Greco-Romans," a term distinct from that of the "Hellenes" or "Greeks" by which he referred to the ancient Greeks. For him, the decline of the Greeks had begun with the Roman conquest. Koraes expressed the anti-absolutist spirit of his time, and laid the blame for the decline of the Greeks on the Byzantine emperors and their administrative methods. The result of the emperors' actions was barbarism, which surrounded the Greek nation. Koraes also blamed the

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5   Biris 1940.
6   Augustinos 1994, pp. 136–137.
7   Runciman 1977, p. 56
8   Runciman 1977, p. 53
9   Runciman 1977, p. 53.
10   Gregory 2005, pp. 2–3.

emperors for the lack of education, because they gave all their support to churches and monasteries.[11] In Koraes's own words:

> … the Greco-Roman emperors … trampled the laws, burdened their subjects with insupportable taxes, polluted the Imperial court with murders and massacres of their relatives, and having been transformed from kings into theologians … gradually increased the power of the contemptible province of the Turks until they sat them on the very throne of Byzantium.[12]

Thus, Koraes's views regarding the Fall of Byzantium were similar to Gibbon's. However, for Koraes, the worst part was the continuation of the Greco-Roman tradition even after the Turkish conquest of Greece. The representative of that tradition was the leadership of the Orthodox Church. Koraes made it clear that he did not want to see this tradition continue beyond the liberation of Greece.

The hostile stance towards Byzantium, exemplified by Koraes, continued during the first decades of the existence of the Modern Greek state, from 1830–1860. The first archaeologists—Ludwig Ross, Kyriakos Pittakis, Rizos Neroulos, and Alexandros Rangavis—were all proponents of a Classical, purist perspective.[13] They did not view Byzantium as part of the Hellenic heritage. A speech delivered by Rizos Neroulos[14] during a meeting of the Archaeological Society on the Acropolis, in 1841, is quite representative of the ideas of the time:

> Byzantine History is a long series of foolish acts and shameful violence of the Roman state which was supplanted in Byzantium. It represents dishonorable writings of the worst misery and degradation of the Greeks.[15]

Alexandros Rangavis, who was professor of archaeology at the University of Athens, held similar views.[16] In his last lecture to the archaeology class of 1844–1845 he said: "… how (Greek art) was humiliated by the descendants, corrupted by the Romans, and finally destroyed by the ignorant Byzantine dynasty and the barbarian invasions will be the subject of our class next semester."[17] Many more examples could be

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11   Fassoulakis 1993, pp. 170–171.

12   Koraes, *Politika Phylladia*, 1798–1831, cited in Politis 1998, p. 10.

13   For a discussion of Greek archaeology in the first decades of the state, see Kokkou 1977; Petrakos 1987; Mallouchou-Tufano 1994; Athanassopoulos 2002.

14   Iakovakis Rizos Neroulos, a Greek from Constantinople, held a number of important public positions in the 1830s and 1840s. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs and also Minister of Education (1834). In addition, he served as the first president of the Archaeological Society of Athens (1837–1844). In 1844 he was appointed ambassador of Greece in Constantinople. See Petrakos, 1987, p. 253.

15   Σύνοψις των Πρακτικών της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας των Αθηνών, p. 104, 1846 (author's translation).

16   Rangavis, a Greek from Constantinople, returned to Greece in 1829 and played a prominent role in public life. Initially he worked for the Ministry of Education (1832–1841). Next, he became a professor at the University of Athens (1844–1866) and finally a career diplomat (1856–1887). See Petrakos 1987, pp. 253–256.

17   Demetrakopoulos 2000, p. 175 (author's translation).

offered. It is clear that the scholars of newly independent Greece were either ignorant of, or prejudiced against Byzantium. Their ideas reflected the Classical, learnèd perspective towards the past shared by European and Greek intellectuals alike.

There were occasional dissenting voices, like that of Von Heydeck, who was a member of the Regency Council of King Otto. He complained to Ludwig Ross, the first director of the Archaeological Service, about the large-scale demolitions on the Acropolis. He thought that "… the archaeologists would destroy all the picturesque additions of the Middle Ages in their zeal to lay bare and restore the ancient monuments."[18] However, such lone voices had no impact at the time. The policies implemented in the first decades after Greek Independence reflected purist, classicist ideals, and showed a clear contempt for the long, "dark" Middle Ages.

Byzantium's Rehabilitation

Concern for the protection of Medieval monuments was slow to develop. It went hand in hand with the re-discovery and rehabilitation of Byzantium, a slow process which gained momentum in the 1850s. To a large extent, the interest in Byzantium was a reaction, or response, to the writings of the German historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer. In 1835, in a lecture presented before the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Fallmerayer questioned the ancestral purity of the Greeks. He argued that the contemporary population of Greece was not related to the Ancient inhabitants of the land. The Ancients had been replaced by successive Slav and Albanian invaders during the Byzantine era. The arguments he used were historical rather than genetic; at the time the cultural and the "racial" aspects were conflated and Fallmerayer used the evidence of the one in order to support claims related to the other.[19]

Fallmerayer's thesis had a tremendous impact on the development of Neo-Hellenic national culture. His theories dismayed and offended the scholarly establishment of Greece. The academic disciplines of history and folklore became the backbone of the response of the Greek intelligentsia, who began to formulate their arguments in the 1840s. From that point on, the position of Greek intellectuals towards the Europeans became increasingly antagonistic.[20]

The emergence of Byzantium as the missing link between Antiquity and the present was the work of two Greek scholars, Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparregopoulos. Spyridon Zambelios (1815–1881), from the Ionian island of Leukas, was educated in Italy, and traveled extensively in Western Europe, especially Germany, before returning home. Initially, his interests were primarily in the field of literature.[21] He published his views about Byzantium in 1852, in a long introduction which accompanied a collection of Greek folk songs.[22] In 1857, he followed up with another book-length study in which he fully developed his argument on the

18 Miller 1926, p. 14.
19 Herzfeld 1982, p. 77.
20 Demaras 1986, p. 93.
21 See Demaras 1982, pp. 460–464.
22 Zambelios 1852. The introduction was lengthy, 600 pages, and accompanied a slim collection of folk songs of approximately 150 pages (Demaras 1982, p. 460).

diachronic continuity of Hellenism.[23] Zambelios viewed Byzantium as an essential link between Ancient and Modern Greece. He argued it was an important phase which contributed Christian Orthodox values to the Greek nation; it was Orthodoxy which supplied a living connection with the Byzantine past.

Konstantinos Paparregopoulos (1815–1891) was the historian who turned Byzantium into a central part of Greek national history and identity. Paparregopoulos was born in Constantinople in 1815. His father, a banker and a prominent member of the Greek community, was killed in the upheaval that followed the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. Paparregopoulos's family escaped to Odessa, and, in 1839, moved to Greece. The young Paparregopoulos was a student at Aegina, one of the early educational centers of the new state. Later, he held a variety of public positions in the Ministry of Justice. He also became involved with newspaper publishing, before taking a position as a history teacher at the Athens Gymnasium in 1846. In 1851 he was appointed professor at the University of Athens.[24]

After a great deal of wandering, in the early 1850s Paparregopoulos became a proponent of Byzantium. In some of his early writings, from the mid-1840s, he echoed the negative attitude towards Byzantium which prevailed in Greek intellectual circles at the time. He reversed this position in his work *History of the Greek Nation*.[25] Most of this monumental work was written during his academic career. In fact, before his appointment, Byzantine history had been totally neglected as a subject at the University of Athens. Paparregopoulos worked out a theoretical construction, and incorporated the Medieval past into the general framework of Hellenism. His main concern was to prove the survival and continuous existence of the Greek nation. Under his influence, Greek history became a continuum. He developed a coherent linear narrative, a national evolution, consisting of five successive stages, and he created "… a panorama of Greek history … set on a grand scale."[26] Like Zambelios, Paparregopoulos argued that the Greeks owe to Byzantium the preservation of the Greek language, their religion, and, more generally, the Greek nationality. The Greek nation is depicted in his work as a historical actor, "an immutable and timeless social organism."[27] Paparregopoulos's exceptional achievement was his ability to incorporate the Byzantine past into the Greek national identity, to connect it with the society of his own time. That the time was ripe for a historical framework that emphasized the unity and continuity of national history is well expressed by a newspaper commentary of this period:

> We have one eye turned to Classical antiquity and the other to the Neo-Classical present, and the middle is invisible to us; we are suffering from classical myopia … those who

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23   Zambelios 1857.

24   See Demaras 1982, pp. 464–471. Paparregopoulos's biography has been published by Demaras (1986). For an analysis of Paparregopoulos's work, see Kontos 1986.

25   Paparregopoulos 1865.

26   Kitromilides 1998, p. 29.

27   Kitromilides 1998, p. 29.

attempt to study the Middle Age, and create links and unity between the two far removed ends of Hellenism, seem to labor in vain.[28]

With Paparregopoulos's work, Byzantium was transformed from an outcast to an integral part of Greek history and identity. His ideas provoked considerable criticism in intellectual and academic circles, but they had an immediate broader social appeal. It is clear that his remarkable rehabilitation of Byzantium responded to profound needs and cravings in Greek society, and subsequently had a significant impact on Greek political thought.[29]

In the next few decades, Byzantium came to play an important role in national politics. It was combined with irredentism, and came to be known as the "Great Idea," a product of political manipulations of Paparregopoulos's historical theories. The Great Idea sought a resurrection of the Byzantine Empire in the shape of an expanded Modern Greek state. It became national ideology for a short period of time, and ended in tragedy in 1922.[30]

The Last Phase of Destruction of Medieval Monuments

As the Middle Age became part of the Greek national narrative in the 1860s and 1870s, one would expect to see a positive impact of these ideas in the field of archaeology. It seems, however, that there was a lag, and that archaeology continued to be exclusively focused on the Classical period. Thus, the demolition of Medieval structures in Athens did not stop. The best documented case is the Medieval watch-tower in the southwestern wing of the *Propylaea*, which was demolished in 1875 (21 June–20 September). Funds for this project were provided by Heinrich Schliemann. There was considerable opposition, and its dismantling sparked an intense debate.[31] The historian Edward Freeman, who visited Athens in 1877, was one of the outspoken critics who condemned that decision. He wrote:

> The ducal tower on the Acropolis stood out boldly as a living teacher of the unity of history. But to the pedant who is satisfied to grope among the details of two or three arbitrarily chosen centuries, the unity of history has no meaning. He deems that the facts of past time can be wiped out by wiping out its material monuments. At the bidding of such men, the ducal tower, which had lived through so many sieges of friend and foe, has been levelled in sheer wantonness. The excuse for the barbarous deed was the hope that inscriptions might be found in its ruins. To some minds the chance of finding a shattered stone with an alpha or a beta graven on it seems to be of more value than the preservation of a living monument of an important period of the world's history, a period which its

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28   Newspaper *Elpis*, 9 December, 1867, cited in Skopetea 1988, p. 182 (author's translation).

29   Kitromilides 1998, pp. 30–31.

30   For a discussion of the elements combined in the "Great Idea" see Kitromilides 1998. The "Great Idea" was prevalent between 1880–1922.

31   Some of the scholars who expressed opposition were the Director of the French School, Emil Burnouf, and the German historian Gregorovius. See Papageorgiou-Venetas 1994, p. 218. See also Kampouroglou 1922, pp. 389–400.

very incongruity makes attractive. Happily no inscriptions were found. The pleasure of destruction was the sole reward of the destroyer, and they who wrought this merciless havoc may boast themselves as the doers of a deed from which Mahomet the Conqueror had shrunk.[32]

By this time, several other scholars, like Freeman, considered the programmatic destruction of the remains of Medieval Greece to be pure and simple vandalism. Thus, by the end of the 19th century, the "Neo-Classical myopia" had diminished. From the 1880s on, Greek archaeology began to lose its exclusively Classical emphasis. Thus, eventually, with some delay, the ideas brought forth by historians like Paparregopoulos were translated into concerns for the protection of Medieval monuments and for the establishment of professional societies and museum collections.

To summarize the argument presented here, we can trace substantial changes in Greek national ideology over the course of the 19th century. These changes were reflected in governmental policies towards the Medieval monuments. I have argued here that the treatment of the material record of the Medieval past should be viewed within this broader context of evolving national ideals.

The Beginnings of Greek Medieval Archaeology

The first professional organization dedicated to the study of the material culture of the Middle Ages was the Christian Archaeological Society, established in 1884. Its aims were "… to collect and protect remains of Christian Antiquity, in Greece or elsewhere, whose preservation and study contribute to the enlightenment of our ancestral history and art."[33] The leading figure of the Society was George Lampakis, who remained its president until 1914. Lampakis had studied Theology in Athens and Christian archaeology in Germany. He belonged to the growing number of scholars who were troubled by the lack of state protection of the Medieval monuments and artifacts. In 1883 he wrote:

> … For many years we have observed the lethargic state of the officials, and we are now in deep despair; by the time these officials will come to understand the historical and religious importance of these ancient manuscripts, buildings, inscriptions etc., all of them will have disappeared from the face of the earth …[34]

Lampakis was instrumental in carrying out the program of the Christian Archaeological Society. He traveled incessantly; he recorded and photographed Christian monuments, and collected icons, manuscripts, printed books, and other objects. Initially, the collection was small, and was formed primarily through donations and purchases. It was stored in private houses and in a number of other buildings. In 1893 it found a home in one of the rooms of the National Archaeological Museum.

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32 Freeman 1892, p. 302.
33 *Deltion Christainikes Archaeologikes Etaireias* 1, 1892, p. 6 (author's translation).
34 Newspaper *Aion*, 30 September, 1883 (author's translation).

It was clear, however, that the Christian Archaeological Society did not have the resources to protect the large number of Byzantine monuments which belonged to the state. Existing archaeological legislation, dating to 1834, had offered vague protection to "the objects of art dating to the Christian era or the so-called Middle Ages."[35] Judging from the large-scale demolition of Medieval monuments that took place between the 1830s and the 1870s, it is clear that this legal protection was totally ineffective. During the 1890s, the language of the archaeological legislation became more specific, and referred to objects of art of the Christian era and of the period of "Medieval Hellenism."[36] The new law, dating to 1899, was written by P. Kavvadias, General *Ephor* of Antiquities. He was in favor of the establishment of a Byzantine Museum, independent of the Christian Archaeological Society.[37] However, it took several more years before a museum dedicated to the Byzantine period became a reality. In 1914, a committee, chaired by Prince Constantine, was charged with the responsibility of establishing a Christian and Byzantine Museum in Athens. In 1923, the collection belonging to the Christian Archaeological Society became part of the Byzantine Museum. The collection found another temporary home until it was finally moved to its present location, in the Duchess of Piacenza's mansion, in 1930.[38]

The first director of the Byzantine Museum of Athens was A. Adamantiou, who also became the first professor of Byzantine archaeology at the University of Athens. Based on the direction he established during his tenure, the museum collections were to represent the development of Christian and Byzantine Art from early Christianity to the early 19th century. His successor, G. Sotiriou, followed the same principles.[39] It was Byzantine art, now rediscovered and rehabilitated, which became the framework for the developing field of Byzantine archaeology.

Interest in Byzantine art and architecture grew steadily in the 20th century. Byzantine art soon gained its place as a subject in academia, and became a topic of several publications.[40] The field came to represent the study of Medieval material culture in general, and Byzantine art became synonymous with Byzantine archaeology.[41] Here, it is necessary to make a distinction between the architectural study of standing monuments and iconography, and the archaeology of daily life. Since the end of the 19th century, Byzantine archaeology has concentrated overwhelmingly on the study of religious material culture and on the recovery of objects of aesthetic value, leaving secular, mundane aspects of daily life aside. For example, excavations of settlements, rural farmhouses, and industrial installations are still in their infancy.

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35   Petrakos 1982, p. 140.

36   Petrakos 1982, p. 141.

37   *Praktika Archaiologikes Etaireias* 1908, p. 55.

38   Kokkou 1977, pp. 283–288.

39   Adamantiou 1915; Soteriou 1931, p. 649. Soteriou became director of the Byzantine Museum in 1923. See also Vokotopoulos 1996, pp. 211–213.

40   E.g., Diehl 1910; Dalton 1911.

41   Dark comments: "There are not nearly as many archaeologists working on the Byzantine world as on the Classical period or prehistory. As a result, the role played by archaeologists in the study of these periods has frequently been assumed by art historians or by historians interested in material culture as a subsidiary source alongside texts."(2004b, p. 1).

Daily life and its material by-products (for example ceramics) were not viewed in the past as a significant source of information. Byzantine archaeology, because of its late development, and also because of the pressing need for the recording and protection of extant Medieval buildings, did not have the time and interest to diversify into other areas. Thus, Byzantine archaeology did not follow the debates or new directions that we see in many other branches of archaeology, including Greek Prehistoric and Classical archaeology. In fact, for the most part, it "remains characterized by more traditional, essentially 19th-century attitudes."[42] In the next section I will discuss recent developments which are rapidly changing this picture.

Greek Medieval Archaeology: The Current Picture

One of the important trends of the last 25 years is the growth of landscape archaeology, which has offered a new understanding of the Greek countryside in Prehistoric as well as Historic times. The pioneering survey project in Greece was the Minnesota Messenia Expedition, whose primary focus was the Bronze Age.[43] It introduced a regional approach, attention to the environmental setting, ethnographic studies, and interest in settlements and sites of later periods that were traditionally the domain of history. It served as a model for Aegean projects in subsequent decades, and led to a proliferation of regional surveys in Greece.[44]

The second generation of landscape archaeology projects incorporated the Medieval, Post-Medieval, and the Early Modern pasts in their research design and publications.[45] Thus, these projects have provided a wealth of data on rural settlement and land-use, subjects that are poorly covered in the extant written sources. They have identified periods when the density and pattern of settlement changed considerably. So far, the interpretations for these shifts have been predominantly economic and somewhat generic. Patterns of dispersed settlement have been associated with dense population, access to commercial markets, and intensive agricultural activity.[46] In contrast, nucleated settlements have been associated with economic contraction and subsistence agriculture.[47] It has also been suggested that a nucleated pattern may

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42   Rautman 1990, p. 144.

43   McDonald and Rapp 1972.

44   Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004, pp. 3–4.

45   E.g., Boeotia: Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 1996; Vroom 2003. Southern Argolid: Jameson, Runnels and Van Andel 1994. Keos: Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani 1991. Nemea: Wright et al. 1990; http://river.blg.uc.edu/nvap/. Berbati-Limnes area: Wells, Runnels and Zangger 1990; Wells and Runnels 1996. Methana: Mee and Forbes 1997. Laconia: Cavanagh et al. 1996, 2002. Pylos: Davis et al. 1997; Davis 1998; http://classics.uc.edu/PRAP/. Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (EKAS). Australian Paliochora Kythera Archaeological Survey (APKAS). Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP): Given et al. 1999; Given and Knapp 2003; http://www.scsp.arts.gla.ac.uk. Asea Valley: Forsen and Forsen 2003. Sikyon Survey Project: http://extras.ha.uth.gr/sikyon/en/index.asp.

For an extensive list of survey projects in Greece and adjacent countries, see Alcock and Cherry 2004, p. 244–248.

46   E.g., Jameson, Runnels and Van Andel 1994.

47   Runnels and Van Andel 1987, p. 327.

represent periods when land was in the hands of an elite minority.[48] Gradually, the interpretations are becoming more refined and context-specific. Of particular interest here are studies and interpretations of the Medieval surface remains.[49] Based on the results of intensive surveys, it has become clear that residential structures or field houses were a common feature of the Greek landscape in the Medieval period, especially during the 12th and 13th centuries. Dispersed settlement seems to have been prevalent in the countryside during that time, although there are regional variations. For example, in the Arcadian valley of Asea, the Medieval sites tend to occur in clusters; because they were dependent on the larger regional centers, they are interpreted as satellite farmsteads.[50] On the other hand, in Nemea, the majority of the Medieval sites are scattered throughout the survey area. They are of small size (less than a hectare), located near the arable land. Only two large sites were identified which can be described as the remnants of hamlets, established near good agricultural land.[51]

An increasing density of rural sites or structures has often been attributed to population increase. However, existing models that convert surface remains into population figures are at best hypothetical.[52] It is more meaningful to view the number of sites as an indication of the intensity of land use. In addition, the widespread "background" scatter of pottery recorded by intensive archaeological surveys reflects intensive agricultural activity. This picture of an intensively cultivated countryside in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. is at odds with traditional historical perspectives that view this period as a time of economic decline and depopulation.[53] Fortunately, in the last 20 years the understanding of basic economic trends in Byzantium has changed drastically. Currently, the 11th and in particular the 12th centuries are considered to have been a time of unprecedented economic and demographic growth, one that encompassed the urban centers and the countryside.[54] It is widely accepted now that instead of stagnation or decline, there was economic expansion and population growth during this period. The archaeological landscape studies correlate well with this revised historical framework.

In the 14th century, both archaeological and historical evidence point to a dramatic change. A severe demographic crisis is known to have occurred with the outbreak of the plague in A.D. 1347. There is also a trend towards the concentration of the population in nucleated fortified settlements. To a large extent this settlement shift was necessitated by conflict and warfare, which increased in the late 13th and intensified in the 14th and 15th centuries. The settlements developed around

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48   Alcock 1993; Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani 1991; Davis 1991; Halstead 1987.

49   E.g., Armstrong 2002; Athanassopoulos 2004, forthcoming; Bintliff, 1996, 2000; Forsen and Karivieri 2003; Gregory 1986, 1987, 1989, 1993a, 1994a, 1994b, 1996; Gregory and Kardulias 1990; Kourelis 2002; Lock and Sanders 1996; Vroom 2000, 2003.

50   Forsen and Karivieri 2003, p. 320.

51   Site 600 covers an area of approximately 34 hectares; site 704 has an estimated size of 47 hectares; see Athanassopoulos 2004, pp. 91–92.

52   For demographic reconstructions using survey data, see Bintliff and Sbonias 1999. For a critique of survey and demography, see Osborne 2004.

53   E.g., Lemerle 1979; Ostrogorsky 1954; Svoronos 1976.

54   E.g., Harvey 1989; Hendy 1985, 1989; Laiou 2002; Lefort 2002.

pre-existing or newly established *kastra*, which provided relative security from the frequent incursions. The best-known fortified town in southern Greece is Mystra, which became both the refuge of the Byzantine aristocracy and the capital of the Despotate of Morea.[55] Many fortified settlements have been recorded in the Peloponnese, notably by the Morea Project.[56] The Corinthia was an area of significance in the Medieval period, and this is reflected in the archaeological research undertaken in the region. The most important and best-documented sites in the region are Corinth, Isthmia, and Acrocorinth.[57] In addition, several less well-known Corinthian *kastra*-settlements have been investigated, such as the sites of Agios Vasilios, Mt. Tsalika, and Polyphengi.[58] A Late Medieval fortified settlement has been excavated at Panakton, in Boiotia, in central Greece. The village was built around a towered stronghold, a typical pattern of settlement in areas of Greece under Western rule.[59] Numerous Frankish keeps were established in Boiotia, near fertile land and pre-existing villages or towns.[60] Several *kastra* and fortified settlements in other regions of Greece have been investigated.[61] The site of Rentina in northern Greece is one of the few fortified Medieval towns that have been systematically excavated.[62] Thus, increasingly, Medieval settlements are becoming the focus of archaeological research and the subject of synthetic studies.[63]

Additionally, the best indicator that Medieval archaeology is rapidly "catching up" is the proliferation of studies of Medieval pottery in the last 30 years.[64] The pioneering studies of Medieval pottery in Greece came mainly from Corinth and a few other excavations.[65] Early on, Corinth emerged as the model excavation

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55   Orlandos 2000 (first published in 1937).

56   Cooper 2002.

57   Corinth: see notes 65–67; Isthmia: Gregory 1989, 1993a, 1993b; Gregory and Kardulias 1990. Acrocorinth: Blegen, Broneer, Stillwell, and Bellinger 1930; Carpenter 1936.

58   Agios Vasilios and Mt. Tsalika: Gregory 1994a, 1996; Polyphengi: Athanassopoulos 2004, pp. 95–96.

59   Gerstel et al. 2003.

60   Bintliff 2000, p. 44.

61   Burridge 1996; Hodgetts and Lock 1996; Lock 1986, 1989, 1996; Sanders 1996.

62   Moutsopoulos 1987; 2004, pp. 19–47.

63   E.g., Bouras 1982–1983; Sigalos 2003, 2004.

64   E.g., Armstrong 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1996, 2001; Armstrong and Hatcher 1997; Bakirtzis 1989; Bakirtzis and Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981; Dark 2001; Deroche and Spieser 1989; Francois 1995, 1997; Gregory 1987, 1989, 1993a; Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1989; Maguire 1997; Megaw 1968, 1975, 1989; Megaw and Jones 1983; Megaw, Armstrong and Hatcher 2003; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983, 1987, 1989, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2003; Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Dauterman-Maguire and Maguire 1992; Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Mavrikiou and Bakirtzis 1999; Sanders 1993; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 1989; Vroom 2003, 2005.

65   The classic work on Byzantine pottery was based on Corinthian material and was published by Morgan (1942). It is still widely used, and Morgan's catalogue has become the standard work of reference. Morgan published only fine wares, and classified the material according to decorative techniques. His dating becomes imprecise from the 13th century on. More recent publications have improved our knowledge of coarse wares, and refined the dating of 13th–14th century ceramics. See Stillwell-Mackay 1967, 2003; Sanders 1987, 2000,

that paid a great deal of attention to the Medieval strata.[66] That trend gained new momentum in the 1980s and 1990s, and is reflected in the annual excavation reports which concentrate on areas of the town that date to the Frankish period.[67] Thus, Greek Medieval archaeology owes a great deal to the few systematic excavations of Medieval centers such as Corinth. Such projects have helped to develop standard archaeological methods, based on stratigraphy and ceramics, which were totally lacking in the past.[68]

Currently, survey projects, rescue excavations, and long-term multi-period excavations in Greece are producing a wealth of information about secular, Medieval daily life. It is likely that the current trend of rapid growth will continue and accelerate in coming years. Thus, Greek Medieval archaeology has finally "come of age." It has become a legitimate and promising area of research.

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2003. For ceramics from the Athenian Agora dating to the Middle Byzantine and later periods, see Frantz 1938, 1942; Waage 1933. For material from the early excavations of Sparta, see Dawkins and Droop 1910.

66   Scranton 1957.

67   Williams and Zervos 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996; Williams, Barnes and Snyder 1997; Williams, Barnes, Snyder and Zervos 1998. For an overview see Williams 2003.

68   In most excavations of major Classical sites the post-Classical strata were routinely destroyed, often without being properly recorded (see Rosser 1979, p. 155, n. 15). These practices continued up to the 1970s, and reflect the low status of the "late" periods in Greek archaeology.

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Presenting and Negotiating the Evidence: Continuing Debates of Relationships between Text and Archaeology in Roman Social History

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Abstract

Moses Finley acknowledged in 1985 that archaeological information was having a major impact on ancient historians but noted that much of the discussion "reads like a trades demarcation dispute". In the last decade there has been an increasing recognition by archaeologists and social historians of the importance of each other's data and approaches. Scholars working in Britain, in particular, have focused on "breaking down the boundaries" between the disciplines (i.e. E. W. Sauer, ed., *Archaeology and Ancient History*, Routledge 2004). This paper critiques recent discussions and perspectives on relationships between Roman archaeology and social history and attempts to take a global approach to include European, American and Antipodean scholarship.

Introduction

My work focuses on Roman Imperial Italy and Germany and on 19th- and 20th - century Australia, rather than on Medieval or Post-Medieval Greece. Nevertheless, Timothy Gregory and I share a concern for interrelationships between textual and material culture in understanding social history, particularly a concern for the problem of past misreadings of the material-cultural record through inappropriate reliance on written sources. Thus, I present to Tim my contribution to recent debates about approaches to the textual and material-cultural evidence towards a better understanding of Roman social history.

Some 20 years ago Moses Finley discussed the boundaries between archaeology and ancient history.[1] The title of Eberhard Sauer's 2004 volume, *Archaeology and Ancient History: Breaking Down the Boundaries*, suggests that these boundaries are still alive and well. However, I believe, firstly, that such boundaries are not globally

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1   Finley 1985, pp. 7, 18-26.

consistent and, secondly, as stressed by some of the contributors to Sauer's volume,[2] that it is not a disciplinary divide that is the main problem in advancing social history in the ancient world, but rather the skills and knowledge bases of the practitioners, however they are labeled. Approaches to the different sources of evidence that lack scholarly rigor, that rely on previous unscholarly approaches to these sources, and that apply questions to either or both of these types of data, which they are not capable of answering, are significant stumbling blocks in the development of reliable social histories of the Ancient, Medieval, and Post-Medieval worlds.

In debating relationships between the disciplinary approaches of archaeology and ancient history, I take the view that primacy should be given to understanding the natures and contexts of the material and written sources and the validity of approaches taken to them, rather than how practitioners label themselves. By placing debates concerning these "boundaries" in their historical contexts and their global intellectual frameworks,[3] I hope to show that the histories and the intellectual developments associated with these disciplinary labels do indeed vary from country to country, and also from institution to institution, often according on the interests of leading figures within such institutions.[4]

My main research concerns household archaeology, domestic space, and gender identities in the Early Roman Empire, and much of my data are the Pompeian material remains. So, this paper uses examples from these particular spheres. Nevertheless, I hope that my discussion will have some resonance for contemporary investigations of the archaeology and social history of Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece, which, in some respects, turn to archaeological investigations of earlier periods for their theoretical and methodological approaches.

Developing Roman archaeology

Perceptions of current disciplinary "boundaries" in ancient world studies need to be placed within the historical development of scholarly investigation of the physical remains of that world.[5]

Very briefly, since antiquity itself writers such as Thucydides and Pausanias have realized that extant material remains can illustrate past historic events. And the Romans were also interested in great works of art, particularly from Greek and Egyptian pasts, both as booty and for aesthetic reasons, hauling them back to Italy from various parts of the empire, and erecting them in public and private spaces. During the Medieval period, however, material remains from the past were collected either for their intrinsic value, for their use as building material, or for their religious significance. [6]

Scholarly interest in Classical literature during the Renaissance—initially among the Italian nobility but soon to spread throughout Europe—also extended

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2   E.g., Hoffmann 2004.
3   See Rotroff 2005.
4   See Sauer 2004, p. 18.
5   See Trigger 1993, pp. 27-72.
6   See Moreland 2001, esp. pp. 33-53.

to an interest in art, architecture, and inscriptions from the Classical world. These interests essentially bypassed what were perceived as the intellectually and materially impoverished Medieval worlds. The emphasis of these interests on works of art and on material remains that reflected historical events mirrored the interests of ancient writers and have indeed "provided a model"[7] for Classical World studies of today. By the 16th century, scholars in Northern Europe—where less artistically impressive remains but no less impressive building feats from the ancient world could be found—also recognized that material evidence illustrated historical events and political achievements as recorded in ancient written sources (e.g., William Camden's conclusion that Hadrian constructed the extant wall across northern England).[8] The great achievements of the Romans were thus recognized in the above-ground ruins of temples, bath buildings, bridges, and town walls in Rome and throughout the western empire. Similar interests in material remains in North Africa and the eastern empire, by European scholars, did not really develop until after Napoleon's invasion of Egypt at the end of the 18th century and the 19th-century growth of European travel to the Near East.[9]

The major written sources that provided information on many of these observed Roman building types were the 10 books of the architect Vitruvius, probably written in the 3rd quarter of the 1st century B.C. It was the 16th-century architect Palladio, who drew inspiration from Vitruvius's writings for his own constructions, who raised him to prominence in the Renaissance and post-Renaissance mind. Despite their desire to imitate the ancient world, their appreciation of the building feats and aesthetics of these material remains, and of their ability to illustrate ancient literature (e.g. mythological paintings in Pompeian houses), these antiquarians were not adept at "reading"[10] the actual material remains for what these could tell them about the ancient world, independently from the written sources.

From the early 18th century, discoveries of sculpture, wall-paintings, and vessels of precious metals, made by the Bourbon kings of Naples in wells in the vicinity of Portici, the site of ancient Herculaneum, had fed into the growing interest in Classical art. Such works of art often found their way into collections around Europe where the study of Classical art prospered, ultimately inspiring the likes of Lord Elgin to remove the Parthenon marbles so that the English could study Greek originals rather than the Roman copies with which the Germans, French, and Italians had to be content.

However, this antiquarian approach to ancient art underwent a change in the later half of the 18th century. The outstanding intellectual who brought a scholarly and rigorously methodological approach to what might previously be called elitist and commercial interests in Classical art was the Prussian-born scholar Johannes Winckelmann. Winckelmann identified stylistic differences in Greek and Roman art,

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7   Cf. Sauer 2004, p. 19.
8   Camden, 1590.
9   Trigger 1993, pp. 39-44.
10   See Dyson 1995, esp. pp. 27-30, for discussion about archaeologists as both authors and readers of material culture.

particularly Greek sculpture.[11] He used contextual and textual evidence to provide an absolute chronology for these styles and so was able to identify stylistic developments which could then be used to date other works of art for which there was no such contextual or textual information. In other words he was able to "read" the material remains and develop an art history from that reading. Winckelmann   founded   a tradition of Classical archaeology which still exists today.

Many non-Classical archaeologists are dismissive of the art-historical approaches of some Classical archaeologists, which they also see as elitist and "unarchaeological". However, Winckelmann's methods are precisely those developed by archaeologists to establish absolute or relative chronologies of ceramic or stone tool typologies, although perhaps more complex. Twenty years ago, many scholars working in Herculaneum or Pompeii, particularly Europeans but also Americans, expressed surprise at studies which were not concerned with art history, architectural history, or epigraphy. Thus, some pre-historians believe that anyone working in this region, or indeed in the area of Greek and Roman archaeology in the Mediterranean region, must be concerned with one of these sub-disciplines.

The early 18th-century discoveries of works of art at Herculaneum stimulated the quest to find more such material and, in 1748, led to the open-cut excavation of Pompeii.[12] However, the excavations of these two towns, whose volcanic destruction was recorded by Pliny the Younger, revealed more material remains than just those of architectural, artistic, or epigraphical interest. They also produced huge quantities of ceramics and other more mundane metal, glass, stone, and ceramic finds. This material was often thrown out, although some of the more complete examples were given as gifts to visiting dignitaries, sometimes to be housed in museums as curios of everyday life, as was happening throughout the Roman world. This sort of material was not of the type that received attention in the written sources, and nor was it of artistic interest. Therefore, it could not be "read" with the skill sets of 18th- and early 19th-century scholars.

The intensive excavations at Pompeii in the second half of the 19th century, however, produced so much "stuff" that it was impossible to ignore it or to save all the complete pieces as museum curios! This enormous amount of "stuff" led scholars like the Englishman Henry Thomas Dyer to think about the urban and domestic lives of Pompeians.[13] He described the Pompeian material remains, not for art-historical study or to illustrate historical narrative, but to illuminate Roman urban life as understood through the written sources. He used textual terminology, mainly from Vitruvius, within which to situate his descriptions of Pompeian domestic architecture[14] and also his descriptions of the furnishings and contents of Pompeian houses.[15]

This "stuff", particularly the furniture and objects left on house floors, also led the French scholars Charles Daremberg and Edmond Saglio to systematize a relationship

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11   See Potts 1994, esp. pp. 11-46.
12   See Parslow 1995, pp. 44 and 107.
13   Dyer 1867.
14   Dyer 1867, esp. pp. 252-262.
15   Dyer 1867, pp. 301-572.

between these objects and the written sources.[16] They carried out the mammoth task of again "ransacking the texts"[17] to find labels for many of these found objects. And this "stuff" led the German scholar August Mau to pay closer attention to its context. On the one hand, Mau applied a version of Winckelmann's art-historical principles to develop a stylistic chronology of the wall-paintings in Pompeian houses.[18] On the other, he realized, like Dyer, that the written sources could be used as a framework for domestic life in Pompeii.[19] He likewise used the textual contexts of Vitruvian labels to discuss how the various spaces in Pompeii functioned. Thus, late 19th-century scholars, whether French, German, English, Italian, or American, continued to make the material evidence "fit in" with, or illustrate, the written. Exceptions were the art historians and architectural historians who had developed strong and workable methodologies to deal with material which had no precise textual context. These scholars could use material remains to provide information on the ancient world; information which was not readily available through analyses of the written sources. For example, they were able to develop a history of Roman wall-painting.[20]

It is no doubt that the wealth of material remains from the Classical world, which could be seen to "fit in" with the written sources, meant that most investigations commenced with questions for which the material world would provide a physical substantiation of the written sources. This "archaeology as the handmaiden of history"[21] approach continued into the early 20th century and included approaches to epigraphy, which comprises both material and written evidence. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* is filled with inscriptions for which primacy has been given to the text recorded, rather than to the significance of its precise material context.

The development of Roman archaeological scholarship

Building on this earlier disciplinary history, investigations of Roman material remains carried out throughout the 20th century, in various parts of the world, followed similar processes of inquiry. However, there developed national, and sometimes institutional, differences in approaches to the material and to the textual record.

In Britain, the study of the ancient Greek world, whether of its material culture or its texts, and studies of Roman textual sources have most commonly been carried out in Classics departments. Studies of the Roman material culture, particularly from Roman Britain, for which less specific written sources are available, have predominantly been carried out in archaeology departments. But even within studies of Roman material culture in Britain there has been a geographical split between more military-based studies in the north of England and in Scotland, influenced by the "Durham School" (led from the 1920s by Eric Birley) and more civilian-

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16   Daremberg and Saglio 1881-1919.
17   Compare Wallace-Hadrill 1994, p. 6.
18   Mau 1882.
19   Mau 1900.
20   Compare Snodgrass 1991, pp. 59-60, on the contrast between studies of Greek vase-painting and Greek sculpture.
21   See Hoffmann 2004, p. 155.

oriented research in southern England.[22] And Roman military studies showed a very integrated approach to material and textual data. Indeed, Birley was professor of both Romano-British history and archaeology in Durham. Interestingly, current leading scholars in the field of Roman archaeology outside Britain (e.g., David Mattingly, Simon Keay and Martin Millet) commenced their research in Roman Britain and have then "broadened" to the Mediterranean area. This has meant that rather than a disciplinary distinction between the study of material remains and the study of the written sources, the demarcation is geographical, on two levels.

The geographical distinction between Mediterranean and non-Mediterranean has promoted methodological distinctions between a text-rich and a text-poor Roman archaeology.[23] Around the mid-20th century, because, in Britain, the study of Roman material culture from Britain was often carried out in departments of archaeology the methods and theories of other branches of archaeology—notably those of prehistory carried out by Grahame Clarke and his students from the University of Cambridge[24]—led British-based scholars interested in the Roman world to develop more specialized "archaeological" approaches to these remains. They often concentrated on specific classes of material remains (e.g., ceramics, buildings techniques, etc.). Such approaches led these scholars away from a dependency on written sources and investigations of social history to near obsessions with the technical aspects of their chosen class of material.[25] It is this essentially British context that prompted Moses Finley's reference to "a trades demarcation dispute" and which seems to have inspired Sauer's volume.[26] But does Finley's view and also that of Richard Reece (from which I believe Sauer's stems) present a global perspective?

In Germany, the institutions in which Greek and Roman material and textual evidence is currently studied are prolific and extremely varied. *Seminars* for ancient history (*Alte Geschichte*) grew out of institutes of theology and philology, but one of the founding fathers, August Boeckh, appointed professor of eloquence and Classical literature at the new Humboldt University in Berlin in 1811, also used epigraphy, coins, and inscribed weights as part of his evidence. The *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* began life in 1829 as the *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* in Rome, under the patronage of the later King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, and in 1874 became the Imperial institute for research of "monuments of ancient art, epigraphy and topography".[27] In the tradition of Winckelmann, this institute specialized in art-historical and architectural investigations in the Mediterranean region.

The archaeology of the Roman provinces of Germany has much more varied associations. E. Fabricius is perhaps the founding father of this branch of Roman studies. He started out as professor of ancient history at Freiburg in 1894 but then worked for the *Reiches Limes Kommission* until 1939. Until 1996 Roman provincial archaeology at the University of Freiburg was an "*Abteilung*" of the *Seminar für Alte*

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22   James 2002, p. 3.
23   See Reece 1988, Reece 1993. See also Hoffmann 2004.
24   See Trigger 1993, pp. 264-270.
25   Cf. Moreland 2001, fig. 1.
26   Sauer 2004.
27   http://www.dainst.org/index_914_en.html.

Geschichte. However, at the University of Munich provincial Roman archaeology was taught within the *Institut für Vor und Frühgeschichte*, separate from the *Institut für Klassische Archäologie*. This was also the situation at the Swiss universities of Basel and Bern, while at the University of Cologne provincial Roman archaeology is an *Abteilung* of the *Archäologisches Institut* which is mainly focused on Classical archaeology. What is perhaps interesting, for this volume, is that Medieval archaeology within Germany has mainly joined provincial Roman archaeology in the departments of pre- and early history while Christian archaeology and Late Antique archaeology, of the Mediterranean region, is mainly the domain of departments of theology. So the disciplinary boundaries in Germany are by no means straightforward. Here a "demarcation dispute" might rather be seen between scholars working on material culture from the Mediterranean region, with their art-historical training, and scholars working on Germany's own soils, but this is not a totally exclusive boundary. Both groups engage the written sources, but only in the last decade have German scholars started to cross the borders between Mediterranean and provincial archaeology, such as Alexandra Busch's investigations of the military inside Rome at the University of Cologne.[28]

In France there seems to be little emphasis on Greek and Roman archaeology as a separate discipline. At the University of Paris-Sorbonne, while there are separate departments of Greek and Latin, the history of European art "from classical antiquity to the contemporary era" is taught within the former Institute of Art and Archaeology, and the history of "Classical antiquity" is taught in the history department. Studies of the Late Antique archaeology of the Mediterranean are minor, with concentration on language and art history.[29] That said, France has "a long and consolidated scholarly tradition of studies on deserted Medieval villages."[30]

In the Netherlands, despite its small size, there is great disparity between the disciplinary divides at different institutions. For example, the University of Amsterdam has a Department of History, Archaeology, and Area Studies which includes ancient history, modern history, and both Roman provincial and classical archaeology. However, at the University of Nijmegen, Classical and provincial Roman archaeology are studied in the Department of Greek and Latin Languages and Cultures, while the University of Leiden has a faculty of archaeology which covers most branches of the discipline, including Classical archaeology.

In Italy Classical archaeology began with antiquarianism and an art-historical approach that adhered to the German tradition of Winckelmann.[31] During the 1860s, these approaches were revolutionized by Giuseppe Fiorelli who pioneered stratigraphic excavation at Pompeii. However, much Roman archaeology in Italy is strongly text-based, at times strongly political, focused on art,[32] and with a positivist approach to material culture.[33] In the 1970s, though, Italian archaeologists, particularly

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28 http://www.archaeologie.uni-koeln.de/forschung/projekt/Busch2.htm .
29 Lavan 2003, pp. x-xi.
30 Augenti 2005, p. 45.
31 Barbanera 1998, pp. 3-47, 57.
32 Barbanera 1998, pp. 147-173.
33 Terrenato 1988, p. 178.

Andrea Carandini and his students at the University of Rome *La Sapienza*, engaged with the methods and theories of the America New Archaeologists to develop what Nicola Terrenato terms a "neo-postivist" phase. Today archaeological studies at *La Sapienza* are included in the *Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Archeologiche e Antropologiche dell'Antichità*. The University of Siena, however, has introduced courses that specialized in archaeology, under the supervision of the archaeological superintendencies.[34] In the last few decades, therefore—given that Italy is "home territory" for classical archaeology—investigations of Roman archaeology have been more integrated with Italian prehistory and Medieval archaeology, which became part of the academic system in the late 1960s but separate from Christian Archaeology.[35] Roman archaeology has also been more engaged with the post-processual frameworks of British archaeologists.

In the United States of America, during the late 19th century, Classics departments incorporated investigations of Greek and Roman material culture within the framework of essentially text-based disciplines and also developed a discipline of Classical archaeology modeled on that of Germany.[36] Thus, a strong art-historical approach developed in United States institutions, such as the Princeton Art and Archaeology Program.[37] Also faculty members were often refugees from Europe and Russia (in the years between the First and Second World Wars and during and after the Second World War) who brought their European, and especially German, approaches to Classical archaeology.[38] Thus, Classical archaeology in the United States developed independently of the departments of anthropology where American prehistory and American Post-Medieval, or colonial, archaeology are studied. This led Stephen Dyson to lament the relatively conservative approaches to relationships between artifacts and the texts within Classics departments not interested in the new methods and theories of the anthropologists.[39] One might also perhaps lament that historical archaeologists in the United States and in Australia have not paid more attention to Classical and "Old World" archaeology![40] But, no doubt, because of the strong European traditions, as well as a growing interest in literary and cultural theory, classics departments in the United States have often produced scholars who take more critical approaches than do British scholars to the written sources that are potentially related to the material remains.[41] For example, Eleanor Leach, a philologist interested in visual art as self-representation,[42] and Andrew Riggsby, interested in Roman literature and cultural history, have carefully analyzed the discussions of domestic space in the written sources, especially on the labels for different types of rooms in Roman houses, and have called into question much past scholarship

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34 Terrenato 1988, p. 185.
35 Augenti 2005.
36 Dyson 1998, pp. 28-32.
37 Dyson 1998, pp. 162-168.
38 Dyson 1987, p. 128; Dyson 1998, pp. 196-199, 223-228.
39 Dyson, 1987; see also Dyson 1993.
40 See Moreland 2001, p. 110.
41 Cf. Hoffmann 2004.
42 Leach 1988 and 2004.

in this area.[43] Such scholars may not engage directly with current archaeological theory and practice, but they apply their specific skills and knowledge to the written evidence and to basic questions which are important for interpreting material and textual evidence for a better understanding of Roman social history.

While investigations of the Classical world in Australia and New Zealand have predominantly been carried out in Classics departments, with the main exception of the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney, many of these departments have recently been incorporated into larger humanities-based schools. The small size of these departments means that it is practically impossible to study ancient history or Classical archaeology in isolation from related disciplines. Even at the University of Sydney—where the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology was developed in the 1930s and 1940s by the leading vase-painting scholar, Arthur Dale Trendall, and the Cypriot archaeologist, James Stewart—students must combine their archaeology, be it Greek, Roman, Australian, or Asian, with other humanities, and social and natural science subjects – particularly anthropology, history, Classics, and geography although also biology, medicine or philosophy. This system, I believe, promotes a more fluid approach to disciplinary boundaries and much cross-fertilization, but also provides room for specialization. For example, Isabel McBryde, who studied Latin and history at the University of Melbourne was appointed to teach prehistory and ancient history at the University of New England in 1960. She is "one of the founders of the discipline of archaeology in Australia,"[44] who pioneered regional and landscape studies in Australian archaeology, and became the Professor of Prehistory at the Australian National University in 1986.

The Palaeological Association of Japan was founded in 1952 to promote the study of ancient history, and the Japanese Institute of Paleological Studies is engaged in numerous philological and archaeological studies inside and outside Japan.[45] No doubt because of the rigorous and systematic excavations carried out by Japanese archaeologists in Japan, and the small number of Japanese scholars working in the area of Roman archaeology, they, like scholars in Australasia, cannot afford to ignore the approaches of their colleagues in neighboring disciplines. Thus, the rigorous archaeological methods used by the current Japanese project in Pompeii have been able to show that there was probably no eighth town gate, the so-called Porta Capua, which conventional wisdom and a desire for symmetry has placed, without archaeological verification, on most previous Pompeian maps.[46] This is an apt example of where less rigorous archaeological approaches to Roman town planning have misread the actual material evidence.

This article provides an extremely brief and incomplete summary of the global development and institutionalization of investigations of material evidence from Roman periods. The institutions, and more often, the leading individuals in those institutions, determine the type of ancient world studies—the methods, knowledge

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43 See Leach 1997, 2004, pp. 18-54; Riggsby 1997.
44 Macfarlane 2005, p. xx.
45 Irobe 1994, p. 25.
46 Compare Etani and Sakai 1994 with Eschebach and Eschebach 1995.

areas, and approaches—that will develop in a particular institution. Furthermore, the histories of national curricula also play an overarching role in the parameters by which these institutions fragment these studies.

Boundaries between data, skill sets and disciplinary labels

I believe that it is not possible, nor desirable, to dictate how or with what questions a discipline, or more especially individuals, should or should not investigate the past.[47] Rather, scholars need to be aware of the complex nature of the material and textual remains and their specific contexts, and particularly of the nature and development of past scholarship. They need especially to be able to identify long-standing scholarship whose foundations stand on oversimplifications of the precise relationships between different material and textual evidence. Because of their long history of investigation, ancient world studies are full of such scholarship, which is often widely assumed to be "known fact." Scholars, especially those who profess to be interested in the "larger picture"[48] need to avoid using such scholarship as primary data and, if necessary, to consult other scholars or some recent study, capable of alerting them to this. Scholars need to be cognizant of their own skills and limitations in dealing with the complexities of these different forms of data.

Pompeian studies exemplify a range of disciplinary approaches to specific material remains (archaeological, art-historical, epigraphical, material-cultural, social-historical) and also encompass the histories of these different disciplinary approaches, often uncritically. They, therefore, provide a good model for taking a self-reflective view on how we "read" our data. Investigations of Pompeii have long remained the premises of art historians, architectural historians, epigraphers, and political historians from all over the world. Only more recently have they also become the domain of "dirt" archaeologists, palaeobotanists, palaeozoologists, volcanologists, and have they also re-entered the realm of social historians. Scholars working on Pompeian material with different disciplinary backgrounds selectively "read" the material evidence in attempts to answer the questions which concern them. Dyson's comment that,"the research agenda and interpretive universe of classical archaeology has been excessively shaped by deference to the written text oriented world of classicists, philologists and historians" is especially applicable to Pompeian studies.[49] However, as in Roman Britain, or indeed in the areas of Medieval Greece studied by Tim Gregory, written sources specifically concerning Pompeii are rare. Despite this, simplistic relationships between Pompeian material remains and the written sources, formulated by past scholars, are often taken as primary evidence in uncritical modern approaches to this material evidence. These past approaches to, and critical readings of, both the material remains at Pompeii and the written sources need to be interrogated to see if any "fit" can be found. They should not be *forced* to complement each other. Where they do not fit precisely, this lack of fit should be explored for the information it provides on the reality of the past, not on an

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47   See Laurence 2004, pp. 106-107.
48   See Sauer 2004, p. 27.
49   Dyson 1995, p. 27.

ancient author's perceptions of that past. Vitruvius did not write his manuals to help Pompeians build and live in their houses. There are undoubtedly strong links between these two bodies of evidence—Vitruvius's writings to set building standards across the empire and the remains of Pompeian houses—but socio-cultural differences need to be taken into account. We can learn more about life in the past if we question and explore the similarities and differences, rather than interpret Pompeian houses through the eyes of this particular ancient author, however rigorously we critique his own mindset. For example, why does no Pompeian house exactly match Vitruvius's prescription? To my knowledge, the Casa dei Vettii is the only Pompeian house with a peristyled garden lying crossways (Vitr. 6.3.7) to the entrance but it does not have a "*tablinum*".[50] Indeed, in 1867, Dyer, writing on the use of the labels "*atrium*" and "*cavaedium*" in Pompeian houses, cautioned about the danger of "attempt[ing] to wrest the text of an author, to make it square with some specimen which has been preserved or described; for we can never be sure that the two were ever meant to coincide".[51]

And what impact did the textually documented and archaeologically verified Greek domination of southern Italy have on the socio-cultural conditions and development of the region in the Roman period?[52] Such questioning will tell us more about Pompeii, more about life in southern Italy during the Roman period, and probably more about Roman life in general, than will an interpretation of the Pompeian evidence through Vitruvius's prescriptions or through projected concepts of "Romanness". Sauer wrote about "archaeologists and historians with an interest in the same literate cultures".[53] Some scholars may think I am splitting hairs, but what is it exactly that makes the townspeople of Pompeii the "same," socially, culturally, ethnically and philosophically, as Vitruvius or Pliny the Younger, or indeed different, and why? This is the type of question that I find interesting.

Scholars working in the Classical, and in the Medieval and Post-Medieval, periods of the Mediterranean region need to unpick past interpretations of the material culture, in order to understand the "authorship," ancient or modern,[54] of such interpretations, and to understand the precise socio-cultural contexts of the data, before they can truly advance more rigorous understandings of social history.

Summary comments

Dyson wrote that "[t]he classical archaeologist has tended to treat as separate conceptual categories the world of texts and the world of sites and artifacts. Philologists and historians are seen as having texts and the archaeologist artifacts and monuments".[55] This observation exposes much more complex relationships between

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50 See Allison 2004, fig. A.22.
51 Dyer 1867, p. 253 footnote.
52 See Allison 2001.
53 Sauer 2004, p. 31.
54 See Dyson 1995, pp. 27-30. See also Leach 2004, p. 7, on the physical remains as "partial text" to be "read."
55 Dyson 1995, p. 27.

disciplinary boundaries and the "readings" of different types of evidence than a simple juxtaposition of the disciplines of ancient history and archaeology. To my mind it is not the disciplinary label and the dataset that one assigns to a practitioner, but rather the approaches and skills of that practitioner that are significant and often bounded by the mere fact of a practitioner's length of life. Some scholars are drawn to developing better skills in investigating the written record, some in investigating the material. Those more interested in understanding the social history through the written record might use the material record to support their findings. Those more interested in the material record may use the written sources to support their findings. I see both approaches as potentially dangerous without a thorough understanding of the relationships between these settings and without the skills and knowledge to critically investigate and interrogate these relationships.

What is most interesting, at least to me, are those archaeological discoveries that are not supported by textual sources, and vice versa, or rather our readings of those data that are unsupported. In such cases, rather than opt for the best but imperfect fit, we need to question whether our readings are accurate, and not culturally biased, and to be able to distinguish within those readings what constitutes the conceptual frameworks of the producers of the texts and the material culture, and what constitutes our own mindsets.

In the archaeology of historic periods in the Mediterranean, there is a long established tradition of excavating and studying material remains to illustrate textual evidence—to be able to say that we can identify the exact place where something we know to have happened took place, the materialization of history. This is very true for studies of Roman domestic space. It is also true for scholars working on the material remains of Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. Tim Gregory has exposed previous text driven interpretations of material evidence and shown that the real history is much more complex.[56] In all studies where material and textual remains are available for analysis, there is a need to question the origins of many past perceptions that interpret material remains in the light of untheorized relationships to written evidence. This does not mean that investigators of the material remains from historic periods should ignore the written sources, or that investigators of written sources should ignore material remains, or indeed that they should test results from one data set against the other. Rather investigators should be cognizant of their own specific skills and knowledge areas and should set up a negotiation between the different sets of evidence in order to explore the relationships between them.[57] Rather than debate the nature of institutional trainings, scholars should take a global perspective and develop the questions that most interest them, and the skills to answer them—this is an on-going education.

My own interest in different approaches to text and material culture arises out of more than 20 years of working alongside people from all over the world, with differing disciplinary backgrounds and differing perceptions of the nature of the Pompeian material record. It is evident to me that individuals, or groups of individuals, have

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56   E.g., Kardulias, Gregory and Sawmiller 1995.

57   Laurence 2004, pp. 104-105, *passim*, does not seem to have understood this distinction. Compare Allison 1993, esp. pp. 3-4, 7; 2001, esp. pp. 202-203; 2004, esp. 175-177.

established certain approaches to the past at specific institutions that have created or destroyed disciplinary boundaries. Indeed if one reads any disciplinary histories, it is the individuals who are discussed, not their institutions or specific disciplines. Tim Gregory studied history, Classics, and Greek at the University of Michigan and now teaches Classical archaeology and Byzantine history in a history department. He carries out research in landscape archaeology and is interested in the history of Early Christianity. He exemplifies boundary crossings in the pursuit of questions that interest him.

Regrettably, the concentration of Mediterranean archaeology on material remains from Classical Greek and Roman periods has often meant that material remains from the Late Antique, Medieval and Post-Medieval periods have been sacrificed. This paper, in its concentration on the Classical world, has also sacrificed discussion on Medieval archaeology. However, because of my training and my pursuit of questions that interest me, my expertise lies in the investigation of Roman material culture from the early Empire. I can only hope that the comments and discussions in this paper have some currency in investigations of the material and the written sources from the Medieval and Post-Medieval worlds.

Acknowledgements

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Earthquakes and Subsidence at Kenchreai: Using Recent Earthquakes to Reconsider the Archaeological and Literary Evidence

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Abstract

Seismic and co-seismic phenomena, examined in Turkey and India after major earthquakes from 1999 to 2001, helped clarify the difficulties of reading the archaeological record of purported earthquake-related phenomena at Kenchreai, Greece. Previous studies have been too casual in their use of the evidence, and in oversimplification of natural processes, including sea-level change. Evidence that we might expect to find associated with co-seismic subsidence is largely absent at Kenchreai. Localized co-seismic phenomena make it largely impossible to generalize from archaeological evidence of seismic activity in the eastern Mediterranean. A strict, critical reading of the evidence allows us to say with certainty only that there was a minimum of one co-seismic subsidence event between A.D. 80 and A.D. 1964.

Background

Kenchreai, the eastern port of Corinth, is one of the most famed submerged archaeological sites in the Mediterranean. The site was extensively excavated in the 1960s, and a resurgence of archaeological fieldwork has occurred since the mid 1990s.[1] During the early excavations, Robert Scranton discovered that many of the harbor-side facilities seem to have subsided, and he interpreted this to have occurred during an earthquake. The structures were subsequently abandoned, and a unique series of archaeological finds emerged from within, including over 100 glass *opus sectile* panels—an art form previously known only from a few scattered fragments.

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1   Scranton and Ramage 1967, pp. 124-186; Ibrahim, Scranton, and Brill 1976; Scranton, Shaw, and Ibrahim 1979; Rothaus 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997, 2000, pp. 64-83, 2002; Noller, Reinhardt and Rothaus 1997; Rothaus, Noller, Wells, and Reinhardt 1998; Rothaus, Tartaron, Reinhardt, and Noller 2003; Sarris, et al. 2007; Rife forthcoming.

Scranton assigned the date A.D. 375 to this catastrophic event, adjusted by later scholarship to c. A.D. 400.[2]

Our secure knowledge of the seismic activity and co-seismic phenomena at Kenchreai is, however, quite limited. A thorough review of the site indicates that there is only one solid indicator of co-seismic subsidence, and the event can be dated no more precisely than to sometime between A.D. 80 and A.D. 1964. Kenchreai has long been considered one of the clearest archaeological indicators of earthquake destruction and co-seismic subsidence. The "discovery" that the evidence is more convenient interpretation than solid data illustrates the substantial gap between archaeological science and paleoseismic and environmental science.

During the late 1990s, the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey conducted intensive and extensive archaeological and geomorphological survey along the Saronic Gulf, both north and south of Kenchreai, and found multiple coastal sites that evidenced co-seismic subsidence.[3] As we attempted to correlate the multiple archaeological and geomorphological datasets, our difficulties led us to look intently at the limitations of our knowledge. Paleoseismology rarely has the luxury of direct evidence, and we relied heavily upon proxy indicators, and, in the case of archaeology, inference from the cultural remains of human behavior. Our inability to correlate seismic and co-seismic phenomena from different areas led us to consider additional field studies to resolve some of these difficulties.

While current seismic activity is heavily studied by geologists and civil engineers, the sorts of indicators that archaeologists and paleoseismologists rely on are usually ignored in disaster areas, where more immediate and pragmatic needs dominate. We reasoned that if we were able to get to a coastal area struck by a recent seismic event, we could look for the ground deformations and co-seismic indicators that might be represented in the archaeological record. With such recent evidence in hand, we would be able to interpret the difficult archaeological and paleoseismological record with greater accuracy and certainty.

We investigated three seismic events: the 17 August, 1999 Mw 7.4 earthquake in the area of Izmit (Turkey), the 12 November, 1999 Mw 7.1 earthquake in the area of Düzce (Turkey), and the 26 January, 2001 Mw 7.6 earthquake in the area of Bhuj (India).[4] In all cases, we arrived within less than two weeks, well before any major cleanup had begun.[5] In the case of the Izmit quake, we often reached areas even before rescue and relief crews had arrived. This timeliness proved to be a critical issue; the heavy machinery mobilized to clean up areas quickly erases the ground deformations and scatters of cultural material which are sometimes the best indicators in the archaeological record. Investigation of the Izmit event provided the best comparanda for co-seismic phenomena at Kenchreai and in the eastern

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2   Rothaus 2000, pp. 75-76.

3   Rothaus, Tartaron, Reinhardt, and Noller 2003; Tartaron, Rothaus, and Pullen 2003; Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew 2006; Tartaron, et al. forthcoming.

4   Barka, Kozaci, Akyüz, and Altunel 2000; Gupta, Rao, Rastogi, and Sarkar 2001.

5   Rothaus and Reinhardt examined the Izmit and Bhuj events, Rothaus and Noller the Düzce event. In Turkey we were assisted by Ömür Harmansah, Kemal Zülfükar, and Amber DeMorett. In India we were assisted by Samir Gangar and Sandal Yadav.

Corinthia, and we have provided a fuller report of our observations elsewhere.[6] Here we will illustrate the variety of co-seismic phenomena observed, and offer some cautionary notes about drawing inferences from the paleoseismic record.

Liquefaction Phenomena

A co-seismic phenomenon common to modern earthquakes is liquefaction. Liquefaction occurs in saturated, cohesionless sediments, the prime example of which is saturated sand in coastal areas. The vibrations of the earthquake order the sediment particles, allowing compaction that, in turn, forces fluid out (termed an increase in pore pressure). The most common types of liquefaction noted were flow liquefaction, level-ground liquefaction, and cyclic mobility. Flow liquefaction changes the shear strength of sediment and creates rapid downslope movements of sediments. Massive landslides and debris flows are a common result of flow liquefaction, and flow liquefaction was probably a contributory factor to the subsidence at Değirmendere in the August 1999 earthquake.[7]

Fig. 4.1   House tilted by level-ground liquefaction in Turkey.   Photo: R. Rothaus.

Level-ground liquefaction occurs much as flow liquefaction, except the surface does not lower, and instead the ground assumes a jelly-like state allowing structures to tilt, sink, or even overturn (Fig. 4.1). Commonly associated with level-ground

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6   Rothaus, Reinhardt, and Noller 2004.

7   Barka, Kozaci, Akyüz, and Altunel 2000; Altinok, et al. 2001; Rothaus, Reinhardt, and Noller 2004.

liquefaction are "sand blows" or "sand volcanoes." When pore pressure increases under the surface, fluids and fine-grained sands are violently ejected to the surface through fissures or circular holes. When sand blows occur under floors, they easily displace tiles and warp floor structures. Sand blows were a common phenomenon in all three earthquakes investigated, with some of the most dramatic examples being in the Rann of Kutch (India) where highly saline fluids were forced to the surface of the desert (Fig. 4.2).

Fig. 4.2   Sand Blow in Rann of Kutch. Photo: R. Rothaus.

Cyclic mobility occurs with liquefaction on gentle slopes. Where the slope is too gradual to allow flow liquefaction, there is nevertheless gentle movement of sediments. Cyclic mobility often is evidenced by lateral spreading, which appears as multiple parallel fissures in the ground. These fissures are easily noticed in man-made surfaces, and commonly damage floors and buildings (Fig. 4.3). While seemingly mundane, cyclic mobility is a common cause of serious structural damage in long-event earthquakes, such as the 45-second 1999 Izmit quake (Fig. 4.4).

In addition to the effects of flow liquefaction, level ground liquefaction and cyclic mobility, liquefaction causes an additional devastating effect in earthquake areas. Earthquakes cause shaking by sending various seismic waves through sediments and rocks. Liquefied sediments are prone to amplifying and prolonging seismic waves. Envision a table with a plate of gelatin on it. If one bumps the table hard, the table shifts, maybe shakes a few times, and then stops. The gelatin, however, will vibrate strongly, and will continue to vibrate long after the event. This amplification of waves in liquefied sediments can have devastating consequences for structures on these sediments, and is part of the reason for the high casualty rates caused by earthquakes in coastal areas.

Fig. 4.3   Lateral Spreading in Turkey. Photo: R. Rothaus.

Fig. 4.4   'Pancaking' of Multistoried Structure in Area of Cyclic Mobility, Turkey. Photo: R. Rothaus.

Tsunami and Subsidence

Tsunamis are usually generated when large amounts of submarine or coastal material are displaced, creating a concomitantly large pulse of waves. In partially enclosed areas, like the Bay of Izmit, tsunami events can be quite complicated. Rarely does one simple sediment movement or submarine fault create a single tsunami. In Izmit, there occurred a complicated combination of waves caused by movement on a submarine fault, multiple small coastal landslides (flow liquefaction), and the reflection of waves as they hit coastlines and each other. Because of this complexity, tsunami evidence and damage were by no means uniform in the area.[8]

Two types of subsidence occurred during the Izmit earthquake. Fault-controlled subsidence occurred along the normal fault in the Bay of Izmit. A normal fault is characterized by vertical displacement along the fault line, and in this incident the hanging wall of the fault was adjacent to the shoreline, so displacement caused some land surface to sink below sea level. Fault-controlled subsidence tends to be relatively uncomplicated, because the surface just drops (Fig. 4.5). Sediment-slump subsidence, however, was also common along the coastline. Sediment-slump subsidence can occur when flow liquefaction causes slopes to move downhill and below sea level, and a less severe subsidence can also result from the lateral spreading associated with cyclic mobility. As with tsunamis, the phenomena interact with each other, thereby creating complex and chaotic events without clear patterning.

Fig. 4.5   Normal Fault in Turkey. Photo: R. Rothaus.

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8   Altinok, et al. 2001; Reinhardt, et al. 2006.

Localized Phenomena

One of the most important lessons from the examination of the Izmit, Düzce, and Bhuj earthquakes was the sometimes perplexing complexity of localized phenomena. Generalized accounts of earthquakes and co-seismic phenomena often gloss over this complexity, as it unnecessarily clutters studies with different goals. Archaeologists, however, can examine only very small portions of any landscape, on account of the time-consuming nature of excavation and analysis. Even the extensive excavations at Kenchreai exposed only a statistically insignificant portion of the Saronic coastline. Archaeologists, therefore, must be acutely concerned with and aware of localized phenomena, so as to avoid generalizing results which may be only a quirk of the particular small spot they have excavated.

Examples of these localized phenomena were abundant for the Izmit earthquake, and effort has been made to document these.[9] In the approximately 7 km of coastline between Değirmendere and Gölcük alone, there were areas of the coast that subsided and areas that did not, areas that experienced liquefaction and areas that did not, and areas that were hit by tsunami and areas that were not. The localization of phenomena occurs not only at a scale of kilometers, but also even meters. In the residential area east of the shipyard at Gölcük, there were areas of expansive lateral spreading and building collapse, directly adjacent to intact ground surfaces and standing structures.

The destruction in all of these earthquakes had a very random, even arbitrary, quality to it, and this caused much anguish among survivors as they compared their luck to that of their neighbors. The patterning was, of course, not random, but rather a complex interrelation between reclaimed and infilled areas, structures, sediment types and grain size, saturation, characteristics of bedrocks, and wave mechanics. In the area east of the Izmit shipyard, the major differences appeared to be between buildings that rested on infilled marsh and buildings that rested on consolidated sediments. While it would be theoretically possible to model and understand the localized phenomena, yet the complexity and scale of such studies would make them practically impossible for the analysis of recent seismic events, and utterly unfeasible for archaeological studies.

While the complexity of localized co-seismic phenomena explains the difficulty we have had in correlating paleoseismic evidence in the eastern Corinthia, it serves to complicate rather than simplify paleoseismic studies based on archaeological evidence. Most archeological projects will never be able to recover sufficient evidence to control the localized phenomena sufficiently to make secure inferences about regional co-seismic events.

Unreliability of Written and Oral Reports

In addition to our examination of the physical manifestations of co-seismic phenomena, we relied heavily on media and local informants to direct us to areas of interest. Informants were also interviewed about specific phenomena, such as

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9   Rothaus, Reinhardt, and Noller 2004.

tsunami. The inescapable conclusion was that a tremendous amount of incorrect and misleading information made its way into the media and into accepted community knowledge. This has important implications for the historical record.[10] Three examples will suffice.

After the 1999 Izmit quake, tsunami damage was obvious in multiple areas along the coastline, but eyewitness accounts varied widely. Residents of Hersek, 36 km from the epicenter of the earthquake reported impossibly high tsunami heights of 20–30 m. Residents of Değirmendere told us that people were plucked off second-story balconies by the tsunami, with a wave some 15 m high. In Gölcük we were told that the wave crested well over a 12 m tall ship in the harbor. There is no surprise, of course, that the survivors of a night-time catastrophe were not able to render good scientific estimates of wave height. In many cases, we think people were reporting the height of the spray generated when waves hit buildings or objects. The end result was, however, that only two or three eyewitnesses reported wave heights that correlated with the abundant physical evidence demonstrating inundation (horizontal penetration) of about 100 m, with a run-up (elevation above coastline at point of maximum inundation) of about 4 m.

There was (and still is) much talk of and interest in earthquake precursors, no doubt driven in part by a desperate desire of residents in earthquake-prone regions to be able to predict events. In the weeks following the Izmit earthquake, and again after the Düzce earthquake, we were commonly told that there had been a mysterious fish kill days or a few hours before the earthquakes hit. We found direct evidence of co-seismic fish kills. In Altınkum, a textile factory discharged three tons of chemicals, causing a massive kill of fish and frogs, and subsequently birds, cats, and dogs who ate the fish. In areas where the tsunami struck, many fish were tossed onto shore where, of course, they died. Finding direct evidence of a pre-event fish kill, especially in areas where the tsunami struck, is unlikely. But when we asked fisherman, shipyard workers, and others who would have direct knowledge about this pre-quake fish kill, we found no confirmation. Some individuals openly scoffed, noting that fish kills were common in the Bay of Izmit because of industrial spills, but that there had not been one before the quake.

The most striking incident of unreliable reports occurred in India. Newspapers (Indian and international) reported that the lake behind the Tappar Dam near Anjar had drained during the earthquake. Some reports claimed that the lake subsequently refilled. As we got closer to Anjar, we heard more and more versions of this story, and started to encounter people who claimed that they had relatives who had seen it, or that they had seen the dry lake themselves. When we finally reached Tappar Dam, we met with Vinad Jeswani of the Water Supply Department. Mr. Jeswani expressed his extreme frustration over the proliferation of stories that the lake had drained, and insisted that they were false, and that nothing had happened. Our visual inspection of the lake and dam revealed no evidence that the lake had drained, and local residents uniformly confirmed Mr. Jeswani's claim. It seems certain that the story, which was reported in numerous newspapers, was just completely false.

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10   Karcz 2004.

Not all of the stories circulating about co-seismic phenomena were, however, false. After the Düzce earthquake, there were multiple reports in newspapers and on television of fire spontaneously erupting from the ground near Gölyaka. Local children led us to a recently infilled marsh, and showed that if one inserted a stick into the ground, stirred up the mud, and applied a lit match, flames would come out of the ground for several minutes. While we did not do a detailed investigation, it seemed probable that methane gas had been released from the underlying marsh sediments by the shock of the earthquake. While this was not the spontaneous fire the media promised us, the basic story was true.

Reconsidering Kenchreai

In the attempt to date earthquake damage and co-seismic subsidence at Kenchreai, reference has been made to several earthquakes recorded in the literary record. Ammianus Marcellinus (26.10.17–18) reported that a great earthquake and tsunami struck the eastern Mediterranean on 21 July, A.D. 365. While Ammianus was alive at this time, his report is so vague and broad that there is no reason to assume that whatever it was Ammianus was reporting affected Kenchreai. Libanios, roughly a contemporary of Ammianus, records that a great earthquake destroyed all the cities of Greece "except one," in A.D. 363. Libanios's report is, like Ammianus's, so vague and exaggerated it is pointless to try to use it as evidence. Zosimus, writing over 100 years later, but probably drawing on earlier sources, reports an earthquake that struck all of Greece, except Athens, in A. D. 375. Two later sources report earthquakes in A. D. 395, but these sources are just as vague and even farther removed in time from the events.[11]

Earlier, Rothaus posited that these sources should be used for nothing more than evidence that a series of earthquakes struck Greece between A.D. 365–400.[12] The unreliability of earthquake accounts in an era of instantaneous electronic communication, only a few weeks after an event, has greatly emphasized the limited usefulness of Ancient records of natural catastrophes. We would now suggest that, while these literary references may be of interest to cite in footnotes, it is folly to use them as evidence for specific earthquakes at specific locations, including Kenchreai.[13] In the end, these sources are so vague, they serve only to demonstrate that Late Antique authors knew that Greece and the eastern Mediterranean were prone to earthquakes.[14]

Although the absence of evidence is not evidence, it is worth noting some indicators curiously absent from Kenchreai. In this coastal area with water-logged sediments, the excavations uncovered no traces of liquefaction, slumping, or lateral spreading. Liquefaction and sand blows associated with Ancient earthquakes can be

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11   Marcellinus Comes (*MGH Auctores Antiquissimus* p.64); Glykas (ed. Bonn p. 478).

12   Rothaus 1995b, 2000.

13   This is not, of course, to deny the possibility that the late 4th century was a period of high seismic activity, as explicated by Pirazzoli 1986; Pirazzoli, Laborel, and Stiros 1996; Stiros 2001.

14   Rothaus 2000, pp. 17-21; Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 244.

recovered in careful excavation, but excavators in the 1960s were not looking for these relatively esoteric phenomena.[15] With the remarkable number of mosaics and paved floors at Kenchreai, we might expect at least a few to have been visibly damaged by liquefaction phenomena, slumping, or lateral spreading. Instead the excavators found level, intact floors, damaged only by later intrusions. This absence of evidence could mean nothing. It could be that the sands underlying the site are too coarse, or that their grain sizes are in the wrong proportions to be susceptible to liquefaction. Likewise, the vagaries of preservation, and the sites which the excavators chose to dig, could be at fault. Nevertheless, the absence of any such evidence remains curious, and may be an indicator that the subsidence of Kenchreai is almost totally fault-controlled, unlike the subsidence at Gölcük, which was a combination of fault-controlled subsidence and sediment slump.

The sole archaeological evidence for co-seismic subsidence at Kenchreai is the submerged structures. The assumed catastrophic submergence of the structures is in and of itself an interpretation of the archaeological record. There is no physical evidence that the submergence was instantaneous rather than gradual, as there would be in the case of, for example, submerged wave-cut notches.[16] The sudden nature of the catastrophe is only inferred from the abandonment of the extremely valuable glass *opus sectile* panels, and from the debris in the structures, indicating that they were undergoing renovation, but were then abandoned. While we noted similar abandonment of structures and possession at Gölcük after the 1999 earthquake, it must be remembered that, for Kenchreai, this is interpretation, not fact.

When catastrophic co-seismic subsidence is not demonstrable, gradual sea-level rise must be considered as a cause of the *apparent* submergence. No absolute sea-level curve for the Saronic Gulf is available, but the curve developed by Lambeck for Kavalla, and later applied by Soter at Elike, will suffice.[17] For our purposes here, the important point to note is that the sea-level rise since A.D. 100 has been about 0.9 m. This provides a context for the archaeological evidence of subsidence: if a structure is submerged more than the estimated sea-level rise, subsidence is indicated. If the structure is submerged less, then there can be no certainty. This issue is usually complicated by our inability to identify the position of features relative to sea level at the time they were in use.

There are three features at Kenchreai that may point to subsidence. The earliest, and most certain, are the *piscinae* ("fish tanks") at the end of the southern pier. These *piscinae* were equipped with sluice gates, and *must* have been positioned close to sea level in order to function. The construction of these *piscinae* dates to about A.D. 80 ± 100 years. The *piscinae* currently lie at 1.6 m below MSL (mean sea level). Sea level has risen ca. 0.9 m since A.D. 100, so these *piscinae* are secure evidence of approximately 0.7 m of subsidence. What cannot be determined is *when* this subsidence occurred, other than post A.D. 80 ± 100 years, and whether one or multiple subsidence events are responsible. Scranton assigns a date of A.D. 77 to the

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15   Soter and Katsonopoulou 1999; Maroukian, et al. 2000; Rajendran, Rajendran, Vora, and Gaur 2003; Koukouvelas, Katsonopoulou, Soter, and Xypolias 2005.

16   Nixon 2001.

17   Lambeck 1995; Soter and Katsonopoulou 1999; Nixon 2001.

initial event, based on evidence of an earthquake at Corinth, but there is no reason to prefer this date over any other; and there is no evidence that these *piscinae* went out of use because of catastrophic subsidence (in other words, the subsidence could have occurred hundreds of years later).

The second feature that may indicate subsidence is the Nymphaeum (fountain house) complex, which contained the *opus sectile* panels as well as items of furniture and working materials, apparently intended for a renovation that was never competed. The ceramics and coins associated with the abandoned material date to A.D. 400 ± 25 years. The standard interpretation is that co-seismic subsidence occurred, making salvage of the materials impractical, so that the whole complex was abandoned. The co-seismic subsidence is not, however, a certainty. The floor of the Nympheaum is currently 0.45 m below MSL, but average sea level rise since A.D. 400 has been 0.80 m. Unlike the *piscinae*, we cannot fix the elevation of the floor relative to MSL in A.D. 400. If the floor was initially built more than 0.80 m above the A.D. 400 MSL, then we have evidence of subsidence. If the floor was initially built less than 0.80 m above the A.D. 400 MSL, then this complex would have been submerged just by sea level change since its construction.

Because of the uniqueness and high value of the glass panels left in the structure, together with the marble and other items abandoned apparently in the middle of a renovation, the archaeologists have drawn the conclusion that catastrophic co-seismic subsidence occurred. That argument is not rock solid. Rothaus has argued that the glass *opus sectile* panels, with their heavily "pagan" themes, are evidence of the continuation of polytheism into the 5th century A.D. But if Rothaus is wrong, it could be that the panels were simply abandoned because their subject matter was anathema to a heavily Christianized society. There are multiple plausible scenarios for which the abandonment of the glass *opus sectile* panels need have nothing to do with seismic activity. The A.D. 400 co-seismic subsidence may very well have happened, but it is essential to remember that this is one interpretation of archaeological remains, not actual evidence of subsidence.

The third indicator of a subsidence event at Kenchreai is even weaker. Grave 53 was re-excavated in 1994 by Rothaus, and the skeletal remains were examined by Joseph Rife. The grave contained an adult male buried in A.D. 675 ± 25, a date firmly established by grave goods. The tile floor of the grave lies 0.35 m below current MSL. There is no indication that the floor of a grave was deliberately placed below sea level, and such behavior has no parallels in the archaeological record. Again, the problem is that we do not know the relationship of the floor of the grave to MSL in A.D. 675. The sea level has risen about 0.7 m since A.D. 675. If the floor of the grave was 0.7 m or more above A.D. 675 MSL, then subsidence is indicated. If less, then sea-level change explains the waterlogged grave. Grave 53 in and of itself would not be worth mentioning if there were not one more hint of a possible subsidence event: sometime after the Nymphaeum was abandoned, a floor was laid atop it. During the 1960 excavations, this floor was just at MSL. The floor postdates A.D. 400; while no more discrete date is possible, it is convenient to associate it with the 7th-century activity at the site. The floor was not made of hydraulic cement, and thus must have been installed at a level above the wave zone. Like Grave 53, if this floor was laid more than 0.7 m above the A.D. 675 MSL, then subsidence is

indicated. If less, then sea level change explains this floor as well. Or, in short, we cannot tell if this was subsidence or not.

Conclusion

Our examination of seismic and co-seismic phenomena in Turkey and India after recent seismic events illustrates the shortcomings of current historical and archaeological practice in identifying paleoseismic events. Ancient literary sources are, for the most part, unusable for identifying specific seismic activity, and there is a need for increased scientific rigor before dates of paleoseismic events are promulgated by the archaeological community.

Mediterranean archaeology has a strong tradition of assigning absolute dates to features and artifacts, but the temptation to use inadequate evidence to assign these dates must be resisted when studying earthquakes. The interpretations, and sometimes tenuous "guesses," quickly become facts as they make their way through interdisciplinary literature. Since non-archaeologists will be utilizing the reported evidence of earthquakes, it is important that we use the same evidentiary standards as the physical sciences. Direct evidence (e.g., faulting) and proxy evidence (e.g., submerged wave-cut notches) are the appropriate standards, and while the archaeological community will and should continue to talk about interpretive evidence, they should make it clear in publications that non-archaeologists may not find that evidence sufficient.

When all is said and done, the only solid archaeological evidence of subsidence at Kenchreai comes from the *piscinae*. To date, no other evidence has been identified that would indicate with certainty the number of co-seismic (e.g., subsidence) events disturbing the site at Kenchreai. Furthermore, the event(s) can be dated only to post A.D. 80 (construction date of the *piscinae*) and pre A.D. 1964 (beginning of modern archaeological explorations). While some archaeologists may be confident that there was an A.D. 400 co-seismic subsidence event, the evidence is not firm enough for this date to be used as a lynchpin in paleoseismic studies.

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Pausanias, William Martin Leake and the "Depopulation" of Ancient Greece

Jon M. Frey

Abstract

The last two decades have seen an explosion of interest in Pausanias, his literary goals and the overall character of his *Description of Greece*. This intensive study has directly affected Classical archaeologists and topographers who are only now beginning to realize the ways in which an uncritical use of this valuable source can shape both their results and research goals. At the same time though, scholars have not been equally careful in their use of more recent sources of information—namely travel narratives of the 18th and 19th centuries. Using Colonel William Martin Leake's description of ancient Sparta as an example, this article demonstrates that such modern accounts also have the power to direct our attention toward a select number of monuments, and away from the evidence that often lies right before our very eyes.

Introduction

Years ago, while preparing to spend my first summer at Isthmia and diligently working my way through the assigned preparatory readings, I first encountered an article authored by Timothy Gregory and Harrianne Mills that has played an important role in shaping my academic focus ever since. Published in 1984, this piece presented the evidence for the existence of an imperial triple arch spanning the northern entrance to the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia and, by extension, "one of the main roads into the Peloponnesos."[1] (Fig. 5.1) I remember being captivated by this article, not so much because of the archaeologists' ability to reconstruct an entire monument from a few battered fragments—although this never fails to fascinate—but instead because of their brief mention of a rather curious fact. Even though this monumental gateway could be dated to the middle of the 1st century A.D. on the basis of style and historical probability, and even though the 2nd-century traveler and writer Pausanias "approached the Sanctuary from the east, noting the Theater and the Stadium before the Temple, he made no mention of the arch."[2] It was then quite a mystery to me how Pausanias, the man I had come to know as a diligent and factual recorder of all

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1   Gregory and Mills 1984, p. 428.
2   Gregory and Mills 1984, pp. 410, 424–425.

things worth recording, could pass through such an obvious gateway and marker in complete silence.

In hindsight, it is clear that I wasn't alone—the matter of Pausanias' silence along with a host of other related issues was at that very moment attracting a great deal of scholarly attention. Indeed, the last two decades have seen the publication of a variety of books and articles offering a more critical examination of this ancient author and his influence on our modern archaeological exploration of ancient Greece. At the same time, however, our growing awareness concerning the uncritical use of Pausanias' *Description of Greece* has not been matched by an equally clear understanding of the ways in which more recent eyewitness accounts continue to shape our research goals. In particular, the authoritative position held by the 19th-century explorer and writer Colonel William Martin Leake among contemporary and subsequent Classical archaeologists and topographers serves as the best example. For while it is clear that omissions in Pausanias' account have essentially erased a number of settlements and sites from our modern map of ancient Greece, the part that Colonel Leake played in this virtual "depopulation" of ancient Greece has gone largely unexamined.

A Growing Awareness Concerning Pausanias

Credit for the recent reawakening of interest in Pausanias is almost certainly due to Christian Habicht, who in his 1982 Sather Classical Lectures offered a critical reassessment of an author who for a long time had been demoted to the status of a thoughtless bumbler, a deceitful copier of anonymous handbooks, and an unsuccessful imitator of earlier, better writers like Herodotus and Thucydides.[3] For Habicht, Pausanias had taken on a project that, while ultimately unsuccessful, was nevertheless truly unique in its effort to serve the dual purpose of guidebook and literary account of the mythology and traditions of ancient Greece. "Pausanias wanted to kill two birds with one stone: he wanted to provide a reliable guide for travelers and to produce a literary piece that would entertain as it informed. He worked hard to achieve both ends but his efforts were bound to fail because of his ambivalence of purpose."[4]

All the same, Habicht was quite cognizant of the importance of Pausanias as an eyewitness account of the sanctuaries and monuments as they appeared in Greece of the 2nd century A.D.

> But how many sites that were once important but fell into obscurity would be unknown, would never have been found and excavated, would not have yielded their works of art, their important inscriptions, or their remains of famous buildings, had he not endured, had he not gone there and recorded their locations and what had once been there! And how many artifacts and finds would not have been understood without his narrative![5]

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3   Habicht [1985] 1998.
4   Habicht [1985] 1998, pp. 21–22. On the unique nature of Pausanias' project, see Bowie 1996.
5   Habicht [1985] 1998, pp. 24–27.
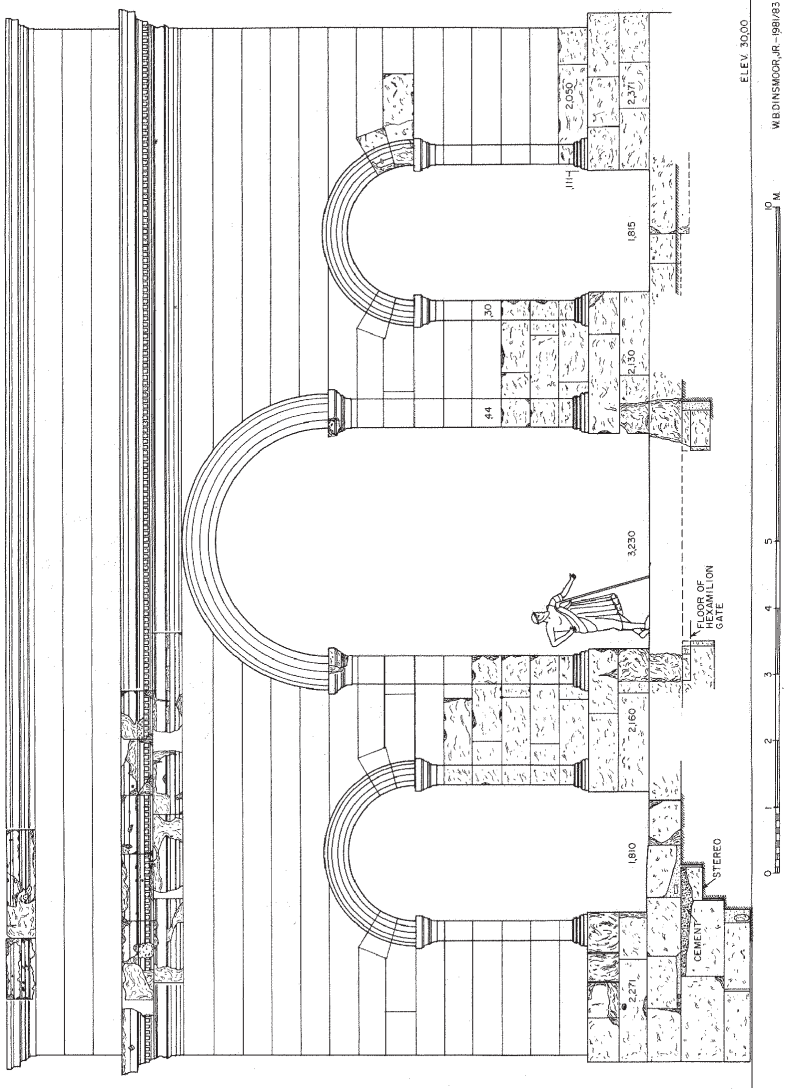
Fig. 5.1   Reconstructed elevation of the Roman Arch at Isthmia (Reproduced by permission of the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia).

Yet it was his recognition of the *Description of Greece* as a work with an equally important literary function that truly changed the way this text has been used in archaeological exploration of the last two decades. For when scholars stopped looking at this work as an ancient *Blue Guide* or *Baedeker*, they began to find a number of startling characteristics. In just a couple of years, Pausanias went from being an ancient version of an eyewitness reporter to a pilgrim, an art historian, an ethnographer, and a man in search of his Greek identity in the face of Roman occupation.[6] As a result, the issue of Pausanias' silence about the Roman arch at Isthmia, not to mention a wide variety of other sites and monuments, has received a great deal of recent attention.

To be sure, Pausanias himself admits on numerous occasions that he has been selective in his presentation of sites and monuments, and scholars have long recognized a clear attraction toward the ancient and the sacred in his work.[7] Yet, Jas Elsner has demonstrated that in his choice of sites and monuments, Pausanias was creating a well-structured and highly rhetorical "florilegium of what he most wished to collect, of those bits which would best evoke the sublime fantasy" of a Greece "which arguably had never existed as [he] imagines it…"[8] For Elsner, Pausanias, a Greek from Asia Minor, had set off in order to experience and record what was left of "Old Greece," that is to say, mainland Greece of an earlier, better time, in the face of ever-growing Roman influence. Monuments such as the Roman Arch at Isthmia played no part in such a project, and thus Pausanias chose not to mention it.

Susan Alcock takes this interpretation one step further by warning those who would use Pausanias that:

> Even more fundamental, perhaps, is the need to acknowledge the extent to which early modern and modern imaginings and investigations of Greece have already been molded by Pausanias' memories … Pausanias' narration of what is memorable in Greek history and topography had helped to prescribe what subsequently has been considered "worth knowing" and worth exploring further; the events and places he emphasizes are those with which we, as historians and archaeologists, are still primarily engaged today.[9]

As Alcock has clearly demonstrated with respect to the account of Messenia in Book IV of the *Periegesis*, an archaeologist who uses Pausanias as a sort of checklist of places to see inevitably ends up missing much of what once was ancient Greece.[10] In short, our focused effort to find the sites and monuments that appear in Pausanias' account has caused us to turn a blind eye to those that do not. Our lack of interest in these unmentioned places essentially erases them from our modern map of ancient sites, and contributes to what may be termed the virtual "depopulation" of ancient Greece.

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6   For a variety of recent interpretations, see Alcock 1993, 1995, 1996; Arafat 1996; Elsner 1992, 1994, 2001; Hutton 2005; Pretztler 2004.

7   Pausanias 1.39.3; 3.11.1. See also Habicht 1985, pp. 22–23; Arafat 1996, pp. 8–12.

8   Elsner 2001, p. 19.

9   Alcock 1996, p. 266. Susan B. Sutton effectively demonstrates this point in the case of ancient Nemea; Sutton 2001.

10   Alcock 2001.

But this explanation of the causes and effects of Pausanias' failure to mention monuments like the Roman Arch at Isthmia leads me to wonder about the opposite situation. What about those times when Pausanias provides clear evidence that far more existed at an ancient site than has been discovered? What are the reasons for a lack of further archaeological exploration in these cases?

Some explanations obviously spring to mind. Boundaries move. Names change. At times, even whole cities disappear. In addition, even when modern topographers can tie Pausanias' account to a specific location, excavation may simply be too costly or difficult to pursue. However, I would like to suggest that there is another influence at work in our inability to "repopulate" the sites and monuments of ancient Greece that has much more to do with a written tradition like Pausanias than with the many practical considerations that affect modern archaeological exploration.

For a close examination of the accounts published by Early Modern explorers in Greece clearly demonstrates that Colonel William Martin Leake played an important role in shaping the nature of archaeological exploration at a number of sites mentioned by Pausanias, the effects of which are still felt today.

Sparta in the Early Travel Accounts

The site of ancient Sparta serves as one of the clearest examples of Colonel Leake's influence on subsequent archaeological study. (Fig. 5.2). Most students of Antiquity are familiar with Thucydides' prophetic comparison of Sparta and Athens as contrasting examples of the power of monumental architecture to deceive. Indeed, the vast inequality between Athens and Sparta regarding modern archaeological excavation certainly seems to bear this out. Yet Sparta had changed quite a bit in the centuries since the Peloponnesian War. Surrounded by walls since at least the 3rd century B.C., and increasingly under the influence of powerful Roman individuals who were far more enchanted with the idea of the Spartan past than its physical realities, the city had become much like any other developed urban center in Greece. Moreover, Sparta had sided with Octavian, and in the aftermath of the Battle at Actium, the city became a frequent site of lavish imperial projects. By the time Pausanias made his visit, the city boasted a wide variety of extravagant buildings, altars, and monuments. In the agora alone, Pausanias lists the Persian Stoa, built from the spoils of the Persian War, temples of Julius Caesar and of Augustus, a colossal statue representing the people of Sparta, a temple of the Fates, the tomb of Orestes, the Old Ephoreia, and a number of statues of local gods and heroes. West of the agora, there were the white marble theater, the monuments of the Spartan generals Pausanias and Leonidas, and a column bearing the names of the Spartans who died at Thermopylae. In a place called Theomelida, Pausanias notes the royal tombs of the Agidae, temples of Asclepius, of Neptune Hippocurius, of Diana Aeginaea, of Diana Issoria, of Thetis, of Ceres Chthonia, of Sarapis and of Jupiter Olympius. There was an area called the Dromos, containing two gymnasia and the Platanistas, an island

covered with plane trees where Spartan ephebes competed in an annual contest of strength. The list goes on and on.[11]
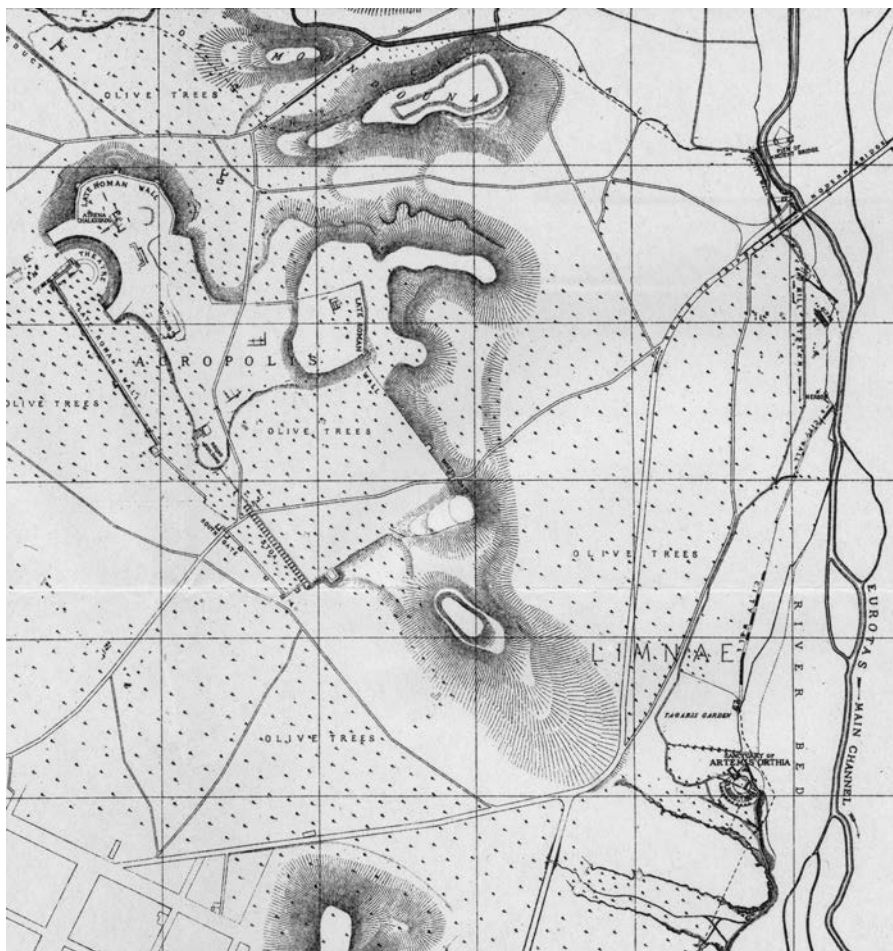
Fig.5.2   1906 topographic map of Ancient Sparta (Reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens).

Indeed, as Domenico Musti has suggested, Pausanias, in describing so many structures, may well have been offering a corrective to the impression left by Thucydides' famous hypothetical use of Sparta.[12] Moreover, it would appear that, at least in the Modern era, Pausanias had achieved his goal. For the *Periegesis* looms large in the early travelers' accounts of the ruins of Sparta. One of the earliest works

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11   Pausanias 3.11.1–3.18.5 For a list of all monuments known by discovery or literary reference, see Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, pp. 216–225.

12   Musti 1996, p. 20.

of this type is also one of the clearest. In his 1770 publication, Julien David Le Roy states:

> The monuments of Sparta are of two types: the one, like the Theater and the Dromos, are still recognizable by their shape, the others, the majority Doric and of very mediocre architecture, are so ruined that they merely present a confused mass of columns, capitals and cornices: I was not able to recover their arrangement, even by reading at that location the extracts of Pausanias, which I had made on purpose and from which I had separated out all the useless digressions, in order better to follow the path of the author.[13]

One could not find a better example of the use of Pausanias as a checklist of places worth seeing.

Yet Le Roy was not unique in his use of the *Periegesis* in this fashion. Edward Dodwell's 1819 description contains references to Plutarch, Justin, and Livy, but the final say is given to Pausanias.[14] Otto Magnus von Stackelberg's 1834 description clearly followed Pausanias, as did William Mure's 1842 account. This is especially clear when both point out that the white marble revetment of the theater mentioned by Pausanias is now missing.[15] In 1835, Emile Le Puillon de Boblaye even dedicated two pages to a discussion of the evidence for Sparta found in Polybius and Pausanias before going on to describe the visible remains of the city.[16]

But this dependence on Pausanias does not appear to have had the same limiting effect as at other sites. For example, Dodwell notes the presence of walls "constructed in haste" dating to well after the 2nd century A.D. Sir William Gell mentions these walls and the theater, but adds an account of the discovery of a small temple "…the architraves of which yet remain, and consist of large single blocks of marble." He goes on to suggest that, "the columns, or at least the plan of the whole, might be ascertained by excavation…."[17]

Members of the French Scientific Mission in the Morea in the 1830s made a particularly important find. Their report is indicative of the gradual process of discovery that took place as more individuals and teams traveled to the site of ancient Sparta.

> The buildings in another corner, opposite that which the theater occupies, were probably the storerooms of the citadel; what remains of them consists of vaulted chambers, now without windows, and which open on two sides onto a sort of large long square courtyard, in which someone now keeps animals, but where the thistles were so thick and dense that,

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13   "Les Monuments de Sparte sont de deux especes, les uns, comme le Théatre & le Dromos, sont encore reconnoissables par leur forme; les autres, la plupart Doriques & d'architecture très-médiocre, sont si ruinés, qu'ils ne présentent que de amas confus de colonnes, de chapiteaux & de corniches; je n'ai pu retrouver leur situation, qu'en lisant sur le lieu des extraits de Pausanias que j'avois faits exprès, & dont j'avois écarté toutes les digressions inutiles, afin de pouvoir mieux suivre la marche de cet Auteur." Le Roy 1770, p. 32 (translation by author).

14   Dodwell 1819, p. 404.

15   Stackelberg 1834; Mure 1842, pp. 235–236.

16   Le Puillon de Boblaye 1835, pp. 78–81.

17   Gell 1823, pp. 329–330.

even though I forced myself, it was impossible to reach the end. This curious part of the ruins of Sparta seems to have been totally missed, in spite of its area and its size, by all our predecessors.[18]

Subsequent visitors to the ruins of Sparta would not make the same oversight. For example, William Mure included this structure, most likely the Roman Stoa in the southeastern corner of the site, in his 1842 publication, and added to it the discovery of "ponderous square blocks…not far from the town" and "a paltry little amphitheatre, of very wretched masonry, but tolerably well preserved, in a hollow not far from the river."[19]

Thus in the first century or so of foreign exploration at Sparta, a trend began to emerge whereby ancient travelers, undoubtedly inspired by Pausanias, continued to look for traces of the many monuments mentioned in his *Description of Greece*, and in so doing added to the list of things worth seeing for all subsequent travelers. Yet something very interesting happened in the first few decades after William Martin Leake published his 1830 *Travels in the Morea*.

Colonel Leake had visited Sparta in 1805 and 1806, and while he was by no means the first to make use of the ancient sources, he was certainly the first to discuss the topography of the whole Eurotas valley in great detail. (Fig. 5.3). The author devoted almost forty pages to Sparta in his *Travels in the Morea*, far more than any explorer before him.[20] Like most of his predecessors, Leake added to a growing list of monuments rediscovered in the area. In addition to the often mentioned theater and later fortifications, he noted the remains of an aqueduct to the north of the site, as well as a number of stone doorways, both on the small hill and nearer to the town below. Leake also seems to confirm Mure's discovery of an amphitheater near the Eurotas River to the east.

> There is another monument, apparently of the same date as the walls and aqueduct on the slope toward the Eurotas. This is a circus, the smallest perhaps in existence, being only twenty-three yards in diameter within. But when Sparta was reduced to the hill, which is now surrounded with the Roman wall, this circus may have been quite large enough for the diminished population. The wall of the circus is sixteen feet thick, and was supported by large buttresses on the outside at small distances from one another, a construction which seems to have been intended for a considerable height of wall, as well as for a great weight within, though not a vestige of seats is now to be seen. The entrance to the circus was on the side towards the river.[21]

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18   "Les bâtisses d'un autre angle, opposé à celui qu'occupe le théâtre, furent probablement les magasins de la citadelle; ce qui en reste consiste en chambres voûtées, maintenant sans portes, et qui s'ouvrent aux deux côtés d'une sorte de grande cour en carré long, dont on profite aujourd'hui pour enfermer des bestiaux; mais où les Chardons étaient si durs et si pressés que, lorsque je m'y enfonçai, il me fut impossible d'en atteindre l'extrémité. Cette curieuse partie des ruines de Lacédémonia semble avoir totalement échappé, malgré son étendue et sa masse, à tous nos prédécesseurs." Bory de Saint-Vincent 1836, pp. 420–421 (translation by author).

19   Mure 1842, pp. 235–236.

20   Leake [1830] 1968.

21   Leake [1830] 1968, p. 151.
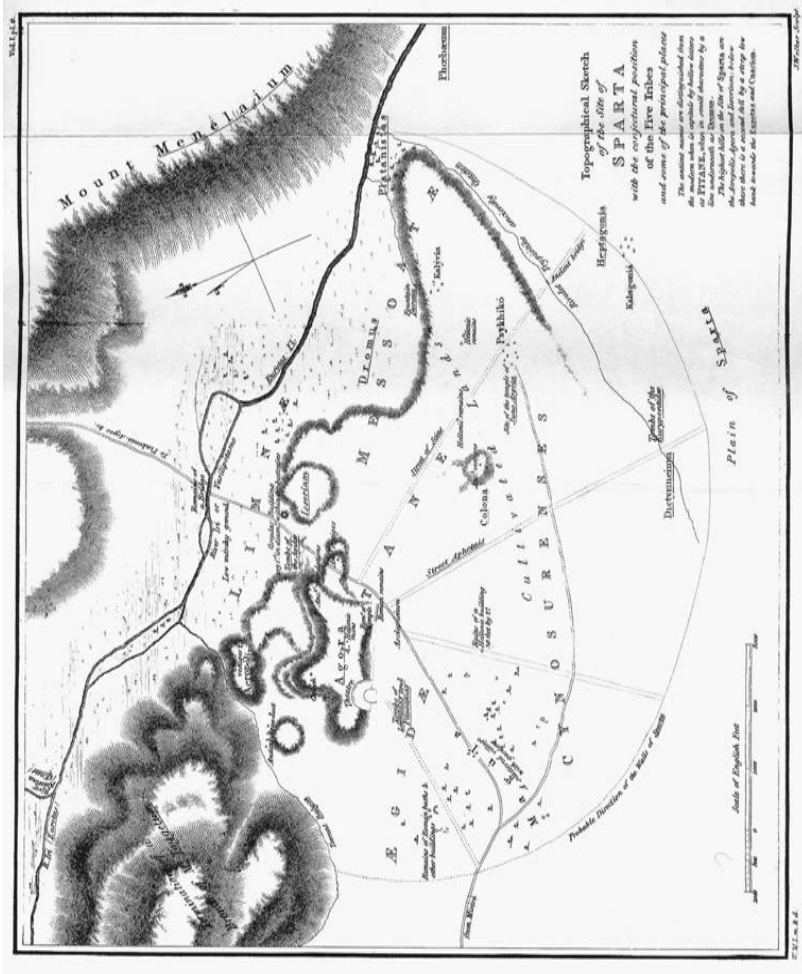
Fig. 5.3   Colonel Leake's topographic map of Ancient Sparta (From W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, Vol. 1, pl. 2).

As a side note, it certainly seems that, in adding more detail to Mure's account, Leake moved away from an accurate identification. His circus is most likely the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, site of the famous διαμαστίγωσις, or whipping ceremony, that would later be excavated by the British in the early 1900s.[22]

Yet what Leake did next is truly unique—he first offered a synopsis of Polybius' and Pausanias' accounts of Sparta, and then applied that information to a detailed discussion of the topography of the area. He began by making sure to anchor his study on known landmarks such as the theater and proceeded with a careful evaluation of not only the local topography but also any other written source that might provide clarity. The result is a convincing, if often flawed, reconstruction of the ancient topography of Sparta.

A New Pausanias?

It appears that the publication of this topographic study marks an important turning point in the archaeological exploration of the site up to the present day. For the subsequent accounts are much different in character. In his 1857 publication, Wilhelm Vischer never once mentioned Pausanias in the context of his time at Sparta, but he did take the time to discuss in detail his inability to find monuments mentioned in Leake's *Travels*. In recalling his search for Leake's stone doorways, Vischer states:

> I have, in spite of a long search, found only one such doorway, which reaches almost two feet above the ground. Leake, Travels in the Morea I p. 156, had seen two atop the hill (as had Gell, Journey p. 330) and four similar ones in a different place, as it appears, in the lower town, more to the south.[23]

It is true that Vischer mentions both Gell and Leake, but his next comment appears to be directed solely at Leake's recent contribution.

> East of the acropolis a low terrace stretches out toward the Eurotas, and on its outermost slope, only some ten or twenty feet from the river, stands a theater-like but entirely circular building of Roman date composed of baked brick, which is interpreted as either an amphitheater or an odeion. The tiny size does not allow it to serve well for theatrical performances or such merriments and even less should one take it as a circus. Rather, it appears much more likely to have been used for musical performances and thus may also be designated an odeion…[24]

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22   Dawkins 1929.

23   "Ich habe trotz langem Suchen nur ein solches Thor, das ungefähr zwei Fuß aus dem Boden hervorragt, gefunden. *Leake, Travels in the Morea I, S. 156*, hat oben auf dem Hügel zwei gesehen (so auch *Gell, Journey S. 330*) und vier ähnlich an einer andern Stelle, wie es scheint im tiefern Stadtareal, mehr nach Süden." Vischer 1857, p. 376 (translation by author).

24   "Oestlich von der Akropolis läuft eine niedrige Terrasse bis nahe an den Eurotas vor, und an ihrem äußersten Abfalle, nur etwas zehn bis zwanzig Fuß über dem Flusse, steht ein theaterartiges, aber ganz kreisförmiges Gebäude römischer Zeit aus Ziegelsteinen, das bald als Amphitheater, bald als Odeon bezeichnet worden ist. Die geringe Größe läst nicht wohl an Thierhetzen und ähnliche Schaubelustigungen denten und noch weniger darf man

Another example of the dominant position Leake's text had come to hold for those traveling to Sparta is to be found in William George Clark's 1858 *Peloponnesus: Notes of Study and Travel*. To begin with, Clark spends more of his time discussing the accuracy of Leake's statements regarding the location of the Spartan Acropolis and Agora than he does describing his own observations of the site. Yet when he does turn to an enumeration of the visible remains of Sparta, it becomes quite clear that Leake, not Pausanias, is his guide. Like Vischer, Clark never mentions Pausanias as a source, but he does state that he is unable to locate all the doorways identified "in Colonel Leake's time." But even more impressive is the following.

> Immediately above the theatre is a long narrow line of building, which has perhaps served for barracks. Elsewhere, on the same hill, is another fort and ruined church of later construction; and at the further extremity the remains of a circus—one of the smallest extant—also a Roman work. At the circular end and along one side are the remains of the brick arches which supported the seats; on the other side there is only a wall, with buttresses built along the edge of the hill, having no remains of arches or seats inside. Indeed, the circus is so narrow, that it would scarcely admit of any. This wall is not quite parallel with the line of the arches, and I conclude, therefore, that it was built at a later time, and intended, like the wall before the theatre, simply for a military purpose. Either the circus was never finished, or one side of it was destroyed to make way for the wall of defence. The remaining seats would, considering the size of the town, be amply sufficient for the spectators of the athletic games of a Roman garrison.[25]

This is a very curious passage. It seems most likely that Clark has a copy of Leake in front of him, either in the field or at the time he was composing his report. The similarities are simply too striking. The circus is "one of the smallest extant" but would be "sufficient for the spectators…of a Roman garrison." Yet Clark's circus, unlike Leake's which is by the Eurotas, is "on the same hill" as the Theater; and a quick glance at his plan of the site clearly shows that the structure Clark has located with its "not quite parallel" walls and "line of arches" is none other than the Roman stoa first located by Bory de St. Vincent. (Fig. 5.4). Clearly, Clark was unable to locate Leake's circus by the Eurotas—perhaps it had been flooded and buried by the river by this point-and out of a need to locate all of the monuments listed in the *Travels in the Morea* successfully, he pressed the Roman stoa into service as a structure it clearly is not.

In some ways, Clark's text marks the end of an era. For at the close of the 19th century, the study and publication of the ruins of Sparta moved away from the tradition of the travel narrative and into two divergent directions. On the one hand, the late 1800s marked the start of a long series of topographic studies focused on ancient Sparta. In spite of the fact that, as early as 1898, the great Pausanias scholar J.G. Frazer was already complaining of the "guess-work" unsupported by excavation "freely indulged in by some topographers," this type of study continues to this

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es einen Circus nennen, vielmehr scheint es am ehesten für musikalische Aufführungen bestimmt gewesen zu sein und mag also immerhin Odeon genannt werden." Vischer 1857, p. 377 (translation by author).

25   Clark 1858, pp. 162–163.

day.[26] On the other hand, 1904 marked the start of systematic, albeit intermittent, explorations of the site by the British School at Athens.[27]

In both cases, the clear influence of Pausanias and Leake can be identified. In the case of Spartan topography, starting with Thomas Wyse's 1865 publication and that of Konstantinos Nestorides in 1892, the evidence and opinion of Leake and Pausanias alone continue to dominate.[28] In the case of excavations, even when the British initiated a series of systematic campaigns to explore the site of ancient Sparta, certainly a more rigorous project than a simple visit, the areas given the most sustained and careful study—the city walls, the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, the Theater, the Roman Stoa—coincided strikingly with the major monuments discussed in Leake's account. By and large, the only exploration of the site beyond this has come as the result of rescue excavations or, quite notably, the work of members of the Greek archaeological service.[29]

Now, one could object that the evidence presented above simply represents the academic process at work. Scholars build on the work of their predecessors, accepting the evidence that they find plausible and offering corrections for the material that is demonstrably wrong. But this does not seem to be the case here, for, instead of incorporating the discoveries of all earlier expeditions, these scholars consistently exhibit a marked preference for the evidence presented by Pausanias and Leake. Furthermore, it certainly seems that within a decade of its publication, Leake's text had either replaced, or at the very least, earned a place beside the *Periegesis*. Moreover, one might object that Sparta is unique among ancient sites found in Leake's travel accounts. Yet the site of Isthmia serves as another example of his influence on later explorers. For in spite of evidence to the contrary, Leake's identification of the Later Roman fortress as the temenos of Poseidon continued to be the dominant opinion well into the 20th century.[30] It was only in 1953 that the Temple itself was uncovered, proving beyond a doubt the error of Leake's theory.[31]

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26   Frazer [1898] 1965, p. 328.

27   For a synopsis of work carried out by the British School, see Catling 1998.

28   Wyse 1865; Nestorides 1892.

29   Frey 2006, pp. 221–235.

30   Leake's influence on subsequent travelers, and even on early excavation at the site, is clear. The similarities between Leake's account and that of M. Beulé are particularly striking, as are Monceaux's conclusions, in spite of the excavated evidence which influenced later archaeologists in turn. Compare Leake [1830] 1968, pp. 286–287; Beulé 1855, pp. 462–470; Burnouf 1856, pp. 31–36; Bursian 1862, pp. 20–22; Monceaux 1884, pp. 273–285, 354–363; O'Neill 1930, pp. 13–19; and Fowler and Stillwell 1932, pp. 59–71.

31   Broneer 1953.
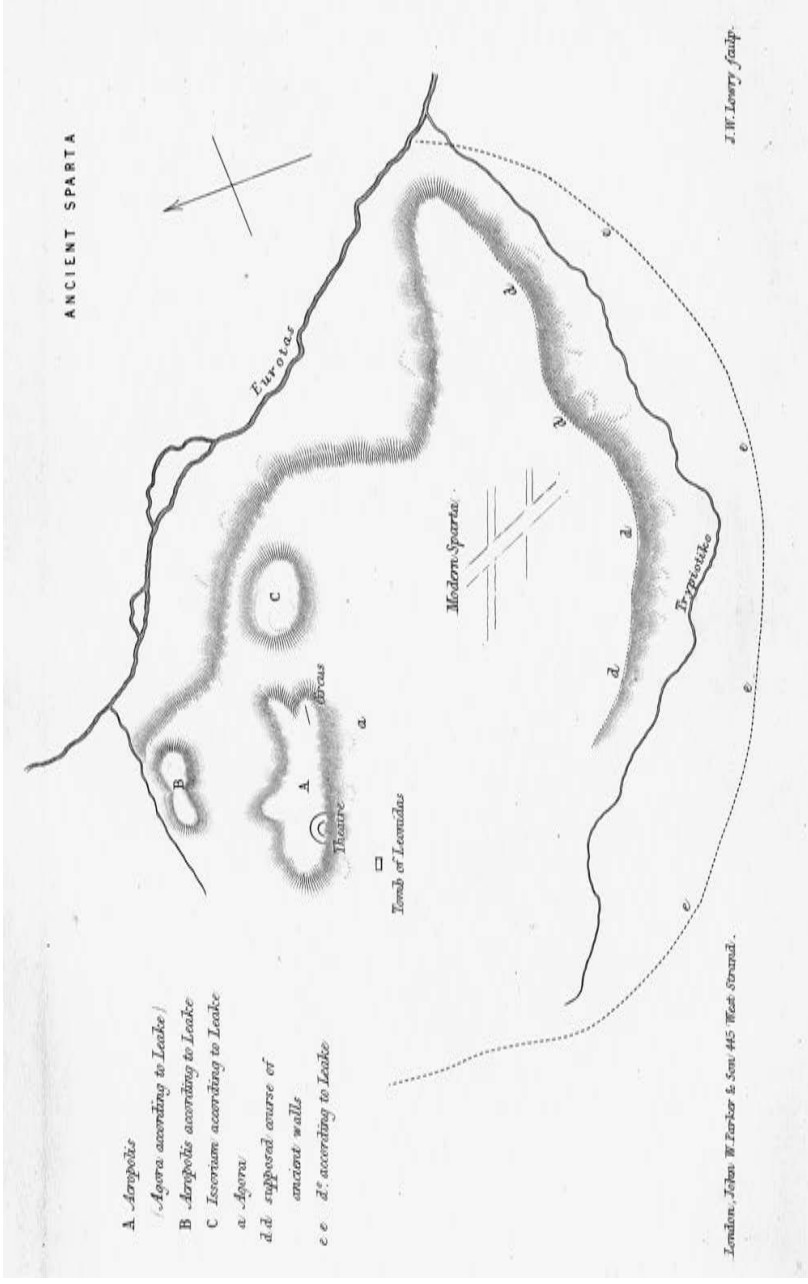
Fig. 5.4   William Clark's topographic sketch of Ancient Sparta (From W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus: Notes of Study and Travel*, pl. 4)

Conclusions

There are a couple of important conclusions to be drawn here. The first one is simple enough. William Leake deserves just as much credit—or blame, depending on how one looks at it—as Pausanias for the focus and direction of much of our modern study of ancient Greece. As such, the manner in which his text came to be the authoritative source on ancient Greece—a new Pausanias as it were—is a fascinating question deserving a study of its own.[32] Was it a matter of his reputation, or his authoritative tone? Was it the length of time he spent in researching and preparing his publication? Was it the fact that Leake had combined ancient sources, commentary and maps into a far more portable format, a scholarly version of the *Baedekers* and *Blue Guides* that were springing up at this time?[33] What is clear, however, is the fact that in switching from Pausanias to Leake, early explorers at Sparta further reduced an already limited checklist of "things worth seeing" to just a few monuments, and in so doing, halted what had been a steady progression of new discoveries at the site. One may justifiably wonder whether we might actually know the location of the Spartan agora today had Leake not offered his well-reasoned opinion.

Secondly, and by extension, just as the recent study of Pausanias, his historical and social influences, and his literary goals has shown us that we need to be much more critical in our use of this valuable source, we also need to realize that more recent sources have the potential to mislead as well. In words that echo Alcock's warnings concerning Pausanias, M. Wagstaff cautions that,

> Before early travel narratives are used for studies in the historical geography of Greece, source criticism is required. The texts themselves must be read carefully and not plundered for their data. They must be understood in the context of their times and as examples of a particular literary genre.[34]

Yet, in contrast to the large number of studies in the last two decades dedicated to Pausanias, I know of only one scholar who has turned an equally critical eye toward Colonel Leake and his *Travels in the Morea*.[35] In most cases, Leake is held up as an exceptional example of thoroughness and attention to detail.[36] As a result, his work tacitly enjoys the reputation of being a thorough account of all there was to see. Yet on an even more general level, it is quite surprising to recognize the degree to which

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32 The phenomenon of European travel to the Mediterranean in the Early Modern era has become a topic of much recent interest, yet an intensive study of Leake's research methods and his published accounts is generally lacking. On travel literature, see Brown 1936; Tsigakou 1981; Constantine 1984; Stoneman 1987; Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990; Eisner 1991; Chard 1999; Wagstaff 2004. On Leake in particular, see Wagstaff 1987, 1992, 2001a, 2001b, 2004. It should be noted that most of these articles deal with the details of Leake's life and his military assignment to Greece rather than his research methods. The one exception is Wagstaff 2001a.

33 Mary Beard (2001) describes a similar situation in the case of Harrison and Verrall's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*.

34 Wagstaff 2004, p. 14.

35 Note 32, above.

36 Stoneman 1987, pp. 155–162; Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990, pp. 14 and 20.

our present academic interests and goals have been shaped in ways we may not even realize by the work of our predecessors. It is true that when we sit on the shoulders of giants, our view is that much better. But it is also important to recognize that in taking up such a position, we have little choice but to follow in the direction they lead us.

Finally, I think that it is important to recognize that reading the land is at times a more powerful tool for understanding ancient Greece than reading an ancient or modern text. In light of the recent and encouraging evolution of Classical archaeology away from its former role of "handmaiden to history," this argument may sound like so much shouting after the fact.[37] After all, as a number of recent field surveys and non-site-specific studies have already demonstrated, looking at the Greek countryside with fresh eyes can bring to light a whole range of monuments, artifacts, and ancient practices that go unmentioned in our written sources. But it is important to realize that the same lessons learned in the Greek countryside can be effectively applied to individual sites as well. The Roman Arch at Isthmia is just such an example. Had we simply read our Pausanias, or our Leake for that matter, we would never have correctly understood that at some time in the 1st century A.D. the Romans marked the entrance to the Sanctuary and the whole of southern Greece with a monumental passageway—a feature that tells us not only about the appearance of the site in the Roman era, but also a great deal about Greek and Roman perceptions of their own ancient topography. Given equal footing with the textual record—given a chance to tell its own story in the manner of New World anthropological studies— the material record of a site may well produce the answers we are seeking in the pages of Pausanias. Such an approach may well answer questions we have not even thought to ask.

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37 Hume 1964; Kardulias 1994; Morris 1994.

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Integrating Archaeological Survey and Remote Sensing in a Study of the Neolithic-Copper Age Transition on the Great Hungarian Plain

Richard W. Yerkes

Abstract

Over the years, Timothy Gregory developed and refined many innovative archaeological survey methods, including "off-site" investigations, remote sensing, predictive modeling, and non-destructive data recording. To honor his contributions to archaeology and history, I would like to show how some of these methods have been employed in Hungary, where we have been examining cultural changes associated with the development of agriculture and metallurgy during the transition from the Late Neolithic to the Early Copper Age around 6,500 years ago.

Introduction

Timothy Gregory is well-known for his scholarship in Byzantine history and Classical archaeology, but, over the years, he also developed and refined many innovative archaeological survey methods, including "off-site" investigations, remote sensing, predictive modeling, and non-destructive data recording. Tim has long been an advocate of "landscape archaeology," and his survey projects have provided environmental and cultural contexts for the prehistory and history of the Eastern Mediterranean.[1] The goal of the "landscape approach" is to take research beyond single sites into regions and landscapes. The field and laboratory methods employed in survey are multidisciplinary, and draw on the expertise of ethnographers, geophysicists, landscape architects, botanists, and chemists, as well as archaeologists and historians. Tim was an early advocate of this approach in a region where archaeologists trained in the humanities were wary of scientific and anthropological approaches.[2] He was aware of the value of truly multidisciplinary

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1   Gregory 1980, 1983, 1986, 1994a, 1994b; Gregory and Kardulias 1990; Gregory, Kardulias, and Sawmiller 1995.

2   See Sarris and Jones 2000, pp. 3-4.

investigations in the heart of the Classical world, and set out to bridge the gulf between the sciences and humanities.

Tim was also involved in one of the first intensive geophysical surveys in the Eastern Mediterranean, when he and Nick Kardulias examined the Byzantine fortress at Isthmia. The results of the geophysical survey were combined with data from controlled surface collections inside the fortress, to produce a series of maps of feature and artifact distributions that show the size and layout of the structures within the defensive walls. These data were used to reconstruct the activities that went on inside the fortress during Late Roman and Late Byzantine times, and to estimate the population of the garrisons in the fortress. The results of this study were also used to consider how urban institutions fared at the end of Antiquity.[3] Gregory and Kardulias argue that even though the Isthmian sanctuary was replaced by a fortress, the site was still an urban outlier that could not have existed in isolation. The continuity they found in the occupation and use of the fortress in the 5th and 6th centuries reflects the continuity of the Imperial system in the Corinthia.[4]

To honor Tim's contributions to archaeology and history, I would like to show how some of the survey and remote sensing methods that he advocates have been employed in a study of culture change during the Neolithic-Copper Age transition in southwestern Hungary (Fig. 6.1).

The Transition from the Late Neolithic to the Early Copper Age on the Great Hungarian Plain

Since 2000, I have helped lead the *Körös Regional Archaeological Project,* an international team of scientists that have been investigating the transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age in the eastern Carpathian Basin.[5] We have been studying the farming societies that moved onto the Great Hungarian Plain, and developed the European way of life. The story begins around 6500 B.C. (calibrated), when Early Neolithic societies migrated up the Danube to the northern limit of the Mediterranean climate zone. These farmers brought sheep, goats, wheat, and barley with them from the Eastern Mediterranean, and lived in small, dispersed settlements. By 5500 B.C., their Middle Neolithic descendants began constructing large tell sites; hunting, fishing, farming, and raising pigs, cattle, sheep, and goats; and acquiring lithic material in the north and south.

Around 4500 B.C., these agricultural tribes were caught in the wave of significant social and technological changes that swept over southeastern Europe. From the Aegean to the Alps, autonomous agricultural societies dispersed into small settlements, and abandoned the large villages and tells that they had inhabited for generations. They began to make and to use copper tools. They also buried their dead in formal cemeteries located away from their habitation sites. They reorganized their

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3   Gregory and Kardulias 1990, pp. 41-44.
4   Gregory and Kardulias 1990, p. 43.
5   Parkinson, Gyucha, and Yerkes 2002, 2004a, 2004b; Gyucha, Parkinson, Yerkes 2004; Sarris et al. 2004; Yerkes et al. 2007.
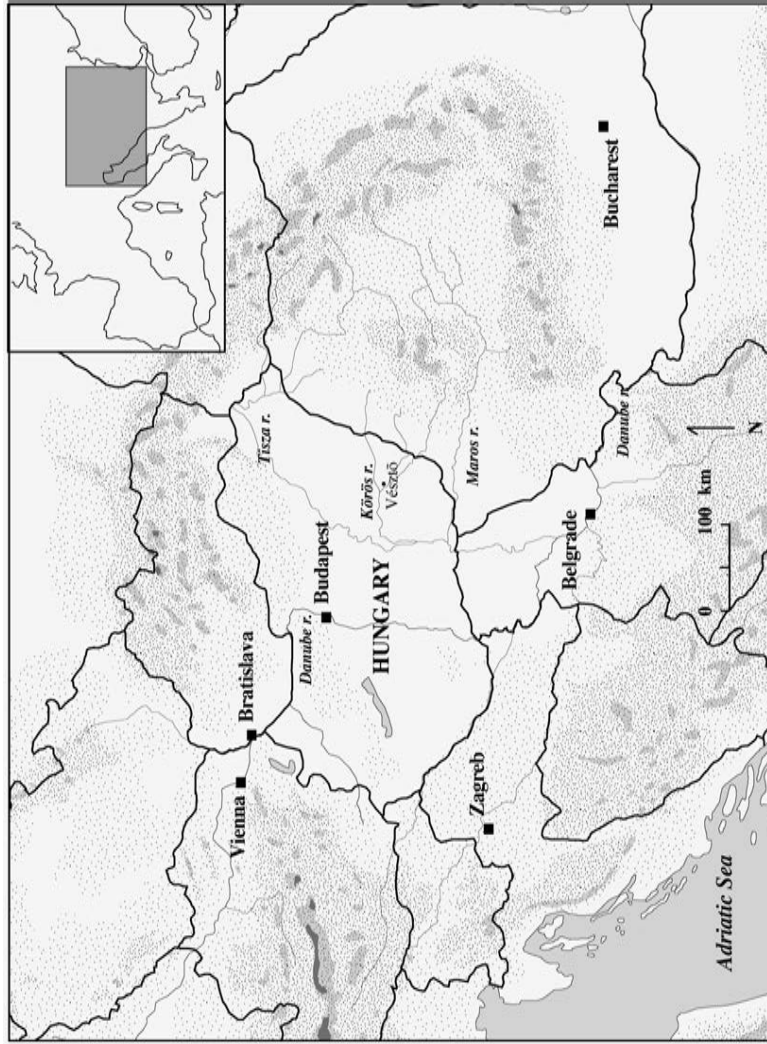
Fig. 6.1   Map of the Carpathian Basin in southeastern Europe (inset). The Great Hungarian Plain is east of the Danube. The Körös Regional Archaeological Project (KRAP) study area is just west of the town of Vésztő. Based on a map initially created for KRAP by Daniel Sosna. Used by permission.

trade networks, and used cattle, sheep, and goats as draft animals, and for "secondary products" like wool and milk.[6]
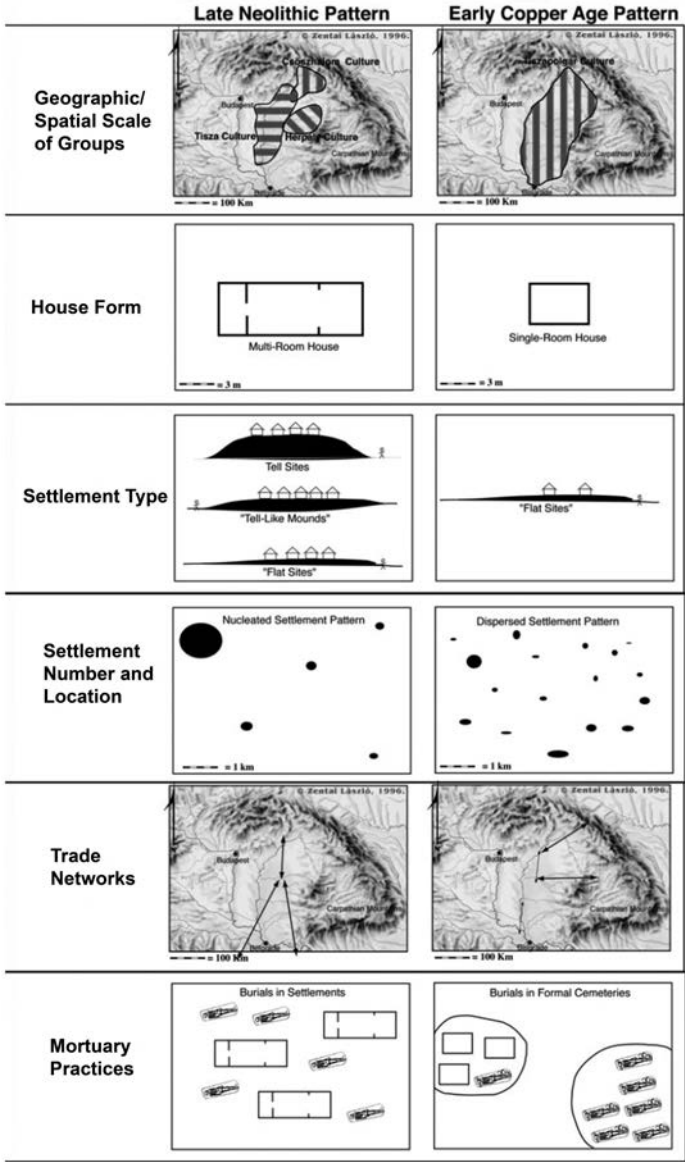
Fig. 6.2   Schematic of Late Neolithic-Early Copper Age Changes (after Parkinson 2002, Figure 1). Used by permission.

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6   Bailey 2000; Bognár-Kutzián 1963; Bogucki 1993; Davis 1992; Demoule and Perlès 1993; Greenfield 1988; Jovanović 1982; Parkinson, Yerkes, and Gyucha 2004a, Parkinson et al. 2004b; Runnels and van Andel 1987; Sherratt 1981, 1983b.

On the Great Hungarian Plain, this transition affected nearly every aspect of social organization, from the structure and layout of households and villages to regional settlement systems, exchange networks, and mortuary practices. Extensive surface surveys and limited excavations by Hungarian, British, and American archaeologists have been used to reconstruct the landscape contexts and settlement dynamics of Late Neolithic (6500–4500 B.C.) and Early Copper Age (4500–3000 B.C.) societies in southeastern Hungary.[7] Variation in ceramic styles has been used to identify three distinct Late Neolithic groups in this region—the Tiza Culture, the Herpály Culture, and the Csöszhalom Group[8]—but during the Early Copper Age, they were replaced by the homogeneous Tiszapolgár Culture (Fig. 6.2).

There were several types of Late Neolithic settlements, including tells and large "flat" sites which were usually enclosed by a palisade and ditch. During the Early Copper Age, most tells and larger sites were abandoned when farmers dispersed to smaller settlements.[9] Early Copper Age sites occur in far greater numbers than Late Neolithic sites, and they are more evenly spread across the landscape. In the Körös Regional Archaeological Project (KRAP) study area of 2,500 sq. km, there are 34 Late Neolithic and 243 Early Copper Age sites (a seven-fold increase). However, the population of the Great Hungarian Plain may not have increased at the beginning of the Copper Age. The local populations, concentrated at the nucleated Late Neolithic sites, may have been redistributed among the numerous Early Copper Age sites. When they dispersed, they no longer practiced intramural interment, but now buried their dead in formal cemeteries located away from settlements.[10]

The traditional explanation for the changes in site numbers and settlement patterns at the beginning of the Copper Age has "Proto-Indo-Europeans" or "raiders from the steppes" invading and replacing the local Neolithic populations.[11] However, there is little archaeological evidence for invasion or migration, and it appears that the dramatic changes at the onset of the Copper Age occurred in situ among the local Late Neolithic societies.[12]

The transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age is also marked by significant changes in house size and organization. In the Early Copper Age, the large, Late Neolithic multi-roomed wattle-and-daub houses were replaced by much smaller, less substantial single-room wattle-and-daub dwellings (Fig. 6.2). Some of the Late Neolithic houses had two stories and plaster floors, and most were divided into many rooms used for cooking, food preparation, and storage. The smaller Early Copper Age houses were not divided into rooms, and cooking facilities and storage pits were located outside. It appears that each of the large household groups that lived together at Late Neolithic tells moved to a new location and established a separate Early Copper Age settlement (hence the seven-fold increase in site numbers).

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7   Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 1972; Ecsedy et al. 1982; Sherratt 1983a, 1984; Raczky 1987; Jankovich, Makkay, and Szoke 1989, 1998; Parkinson 2002.

8   Kalicz and Raczky 1987.

9   Bognár-Kutzián 1972: pp. 164-171; Kalicz and Raczky 1987; Sherratt 1984.

10   Bognár-Kutzian 1963.

11   Gimbutas 1973, 1977, 1991; Mallory 1989.

12   Bailey 2000, pp. 260-261; Whittle 1996, pp. 136-143.

Some have suggested that the dispersal of the Late Neolithic families was brought on by an increase in the size of cattle herds and a need for more grazing lands.[13] Unfortunately, the lack of systematic excavations at Early Copper Age settlements makes it difficult to understand the causes and consequences of the Neolithic-Copper Age transition. While several large tells and Late Neolithic settlements have been excavated recently,[14] prior to the launching of the Körös Regional Archaeological Project, there were no comparable systematically excavated Early Copper sites.

Investigations by the Körös Regional Archaeological Project

To gain a better understanding of the socio-economic changes that occurred during transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age, two Early Copper Age sites of the Tiszapolgár Culture, *Vésztõ-Bikeri* and *Körösladány-Bikeri* were selected for further study (Fig. 6.3). Both sites are located on low rises overlooking paleochannels on the floodplain of the Körös River, near the modern town of Vésztõ, Hungary. While cultural deposits at many shallow Tiszapolgár settlements have been destroyed by plowing, the surface material at Vésztõ-Bikeri and Körösladány-Bikeri retained its spatial integrity, and suggested that sub-surface features were intact. We collected artifacts from the surface of the two Tiszapolgár sites, and excavated four 2x2m test units at Vésztõ-Bikeri in 2000, and a further two 2x2m units at Körösladány-Bikeri in 2001. We located several Early Copper Age structures at Vésztõ-Bikeri, and enlarged two of the test excavation units in 2001, but we wanted to locate and map the rest of the features and activity areas before we opened larger excavation blocks at the two sites.[15]

My association with Tim Gregory had shown me the value of non-destructive geophysical and geochemical surveys. Without excavating, it is possible to detect subsurface features, such as pits, middens, walls, foundations, ditches, hearths, kilns, animal pens, pottery concentrations, and burned structures. This is accomplished by measuring the physical properties of soils, and by recording concentrations of magnetic minerals and chemicals, such as phosphorus, nitrogen, calcium, and carbon. We invited Apostolos Sarris to come and conduct remote sensing surveys, and to help us refine our excavation plans. I had met Apostolos Sarris in Cyprus when he and Stavros Papamarinopoulos conducted geophysical investigations at the site of Athienou *Malloura*,[16] and was very pleased when he agreed to join the KRAP team.

In 2002, Sarris conducted a high-resolution magnetic survey over more than 5,000 square meters of the area surrounding the central excavation blocks at Vésztõ-Bikeri.[17] In 2004, he carried out a similar survey at Körösladány-Bikeri, where an area of 5,600 square meters was covered.[18] Sarris returned in 2006 and surveyed the area

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13 Bökönyi 1988.
14 Raczky 1987.
15 Parkinson, Gyucha, and Yerkes 2002; Parkinson, Yerkes, and Gyucha 2004a.
16 Toumazou, Yerkes, and Kardulias 1998; Sarris and Jones 2000.
17 Sarris et al. 2004.
18 Sarris 2004.
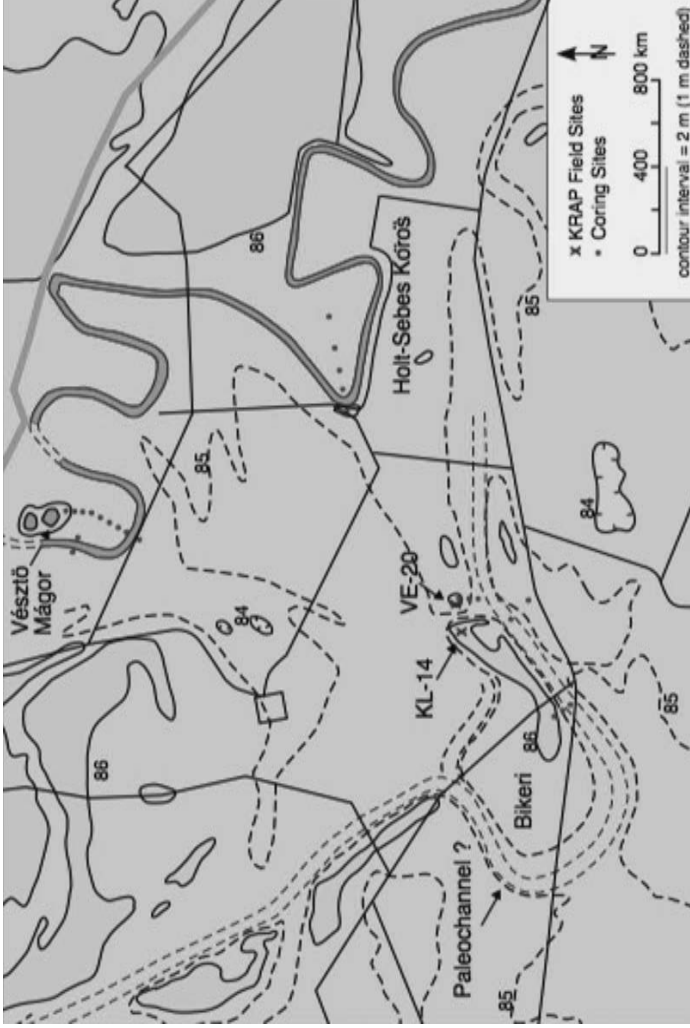
Fig. 6.3   The Early Copper Age Vésztő-Bikeri (VE-20) and Körösladány-Bikeri (KL-14) sites on the flatlands south of the Vésztő Magor tell. The Holt Sebes Körös channel was abandoned when a canal was constructed (shown as the light gray line in the northeast corner of the map). Paleochannel scars near the sites are shown as dashed lines, and the locations of the cores used to reconstruct paleochannel dimensions are also shown (from an image produced by Todd A. Frolking for the Körös Regional Archaeological Project [KRAP], see Frolking 2004).

around the Vésztõ Magor tell, and another Early-Copper-Age site, Okány-Futás.[19] A Geoscan FM36 Fluxgate Gradiometer was employed during the investigations, and Sarris and his assistants walked from south to north along 0.5m spaced transects, taking measurements every 0.5m or 0.25m (Fig. 6.4).

Additional non-destructive surveys were conducted at these sites to complement

Fig. 6.4   Apostolos Sarris conducting magnetic survey at the Vésztõ-Bikeri site. Photo from the Körös Regional Archaeological Project (KRAP) image files.

the magnetometry. KRAP students collected soil samples that were sent to laboratories in Mississippi and Florida for analysis.[20] The samples were collected, using an Oakfield hand soil probe, for phosphate analysis and for magnetic susceptibility studies. Cores were taken at 10 m intervals within a 9,400 square-meter grid covering the Vésztõ-Bikeri site, and from transects extending 100 m east and 100 m south of the edges of site. Samples were also taken at nine control points that were sampled in order to establish the natural background levels of phosphorus and magnetic susceptibility to be expected in the area near the site. Similar sampling methods were employed at Körösladány-Bikeri within a grid covering an area of 4,800 square meters, along transects extending 100 m west and 110 m south of the site, and at six randomly selected points. The samples were extracted from both the plow zone (Ap, 15–20 cm below surface) and sub-plow horizons (45–50 cm

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19   Hegedűs and Makkay 1987; Parkinson 2002.
20   Parkinson et al. 2004b; Sarris et al. 2004; Yerkes et al. 2007.

below surface), and were analyzed for total phosphorus, percent of organic content, magnetic susceptibility, and pH.[21]

Our excavations between 2002 and 2006 confirmed the locations of most of the wall trenches, postholes, ditches, and pits, detected during the non-destructive surveys, and also established spatial and stratigraphic contexts for the features, artifacts, and ecofacts. The magnetic surveys defined the extent and layout of features within the two sites, including a series of concentric circular anomalies that enclosed each site (Fig. 6.5). Excavations revealed that these anomalies were palisades and ditches, but no traces of the circular features were visible on the modern surfaces of the sites, nor were they apparent in the surface artifact distribution patterns.[22]

The soil chemical surveys recorded high concentrations of phosphate around the perimeter of each site (some of which were associated with ring middens), and showed a contrast between the "cleaner" centers of the sites (near several wattle-and-daub structures) and the ring of debris at the edges of the sites (near the circular palisades and ditches, see Figs. 6.6 and 6.7). Magnetic susceptibility measurements from the two Early Copper Age settlements were analyzed by Apostolos Sarris and Luigi Catanoso, and compared with the earlier geomagnetic and geochemical survey results.[23]

Non-destructive surveys are not a substitute for systematic excavation, but they provide spatial information that can be used to construct models of settlement organization that can be tested with efficient excavations limited to specific targets of interest. These results are an important component of our ongoing investigations, and have changed the way we view the transition from the Neolithic to the Copper Age. These methods should provide equally valuable information when they are applied in other archaeological contexts.

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21 Sarris et al. 2004; Yerkes et al. 2007.
22 Sarris et al. 2004; Parkinson, Yerkes, and Gyucha 2004a Parkinson et al. 2004b.
23 Sarris and Catanoso 2005.
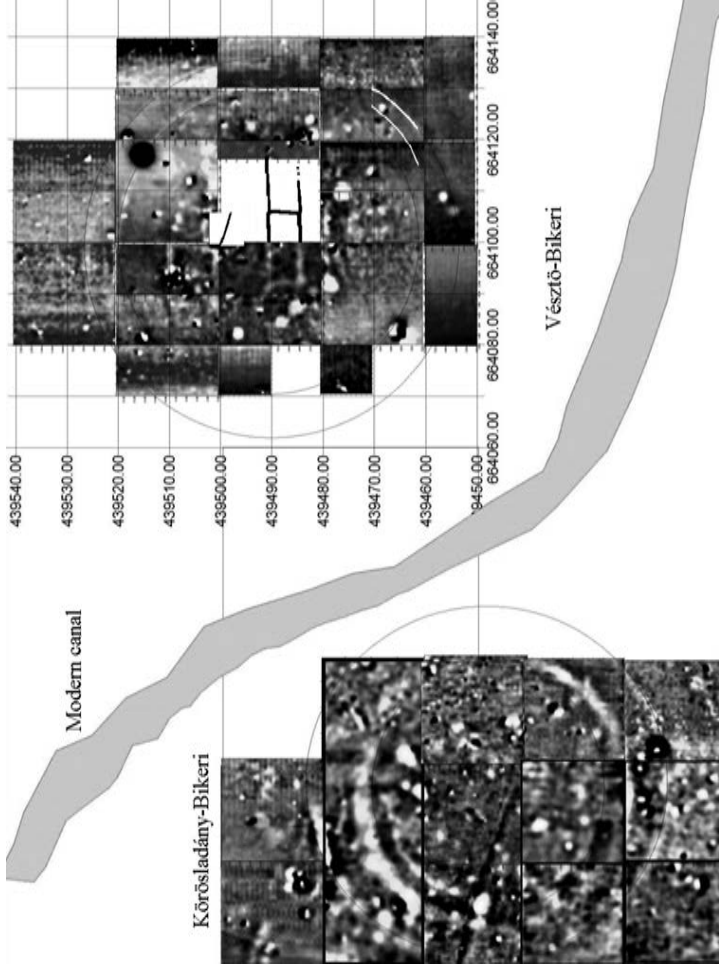
Fig. 6.5   Magnetic Anomalies recorded at the Körösladány-Bikeri (left) and Vésztő-Bikeri (right) sites. Locations of the two excavated longhouses and the diagonal wall trench associated with a third house in the center of the Vésztő-Bikeri site (black lines) and the excavated segments the circular enclosures along the SE edge of the site (white lines) are superimposed (data collected by Apostolos Sarris for reports submitted to the Körös Regional Archaeological Project [KRAP], see Sarris 2004) The large dark circle in the NE quadrant of the Vésztő-Bikeri site is the iron rod that served as the site datum.
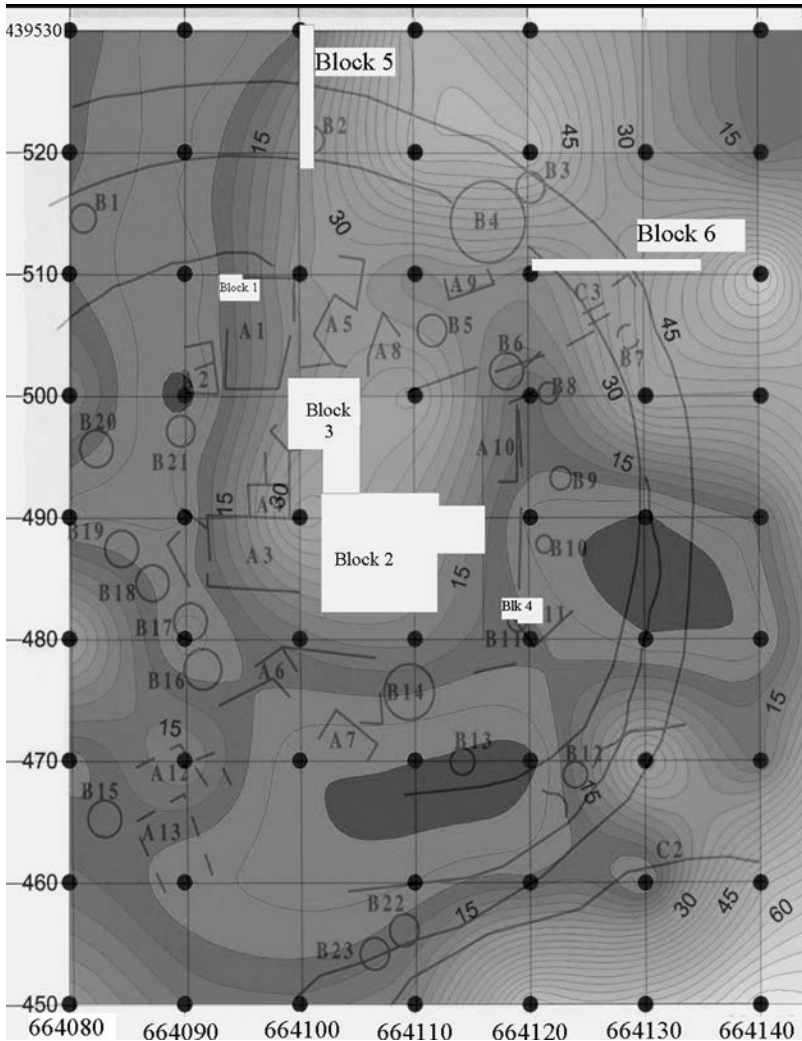
Fig. 6.6 Map prepared by the author from data collected by members of the KRAP research team showing the location of phosphate samples (black dots), phosphate levels, diagrammatic representations of the magnetic anomalies, and excavation blocks from the 2000-2002 field seasons at Vésztő-Bikeri. Higher phosphate values are represented by darker colors, lower values are indicated by lighter colors. Note the low phosphate values in the center of the site near Blocks 2 and 3 where several longhouses (A3, A4) were located. The highest phosphate values are at the E and S edges of the site near the circular anomalies (c1, c2, c3, ditches and palisade), High phosphate values were also recorded near the circular anomalies B9, B10, B14, B16, B17, B18, B19, B20 and B21, which may be cooking features or storage pits.
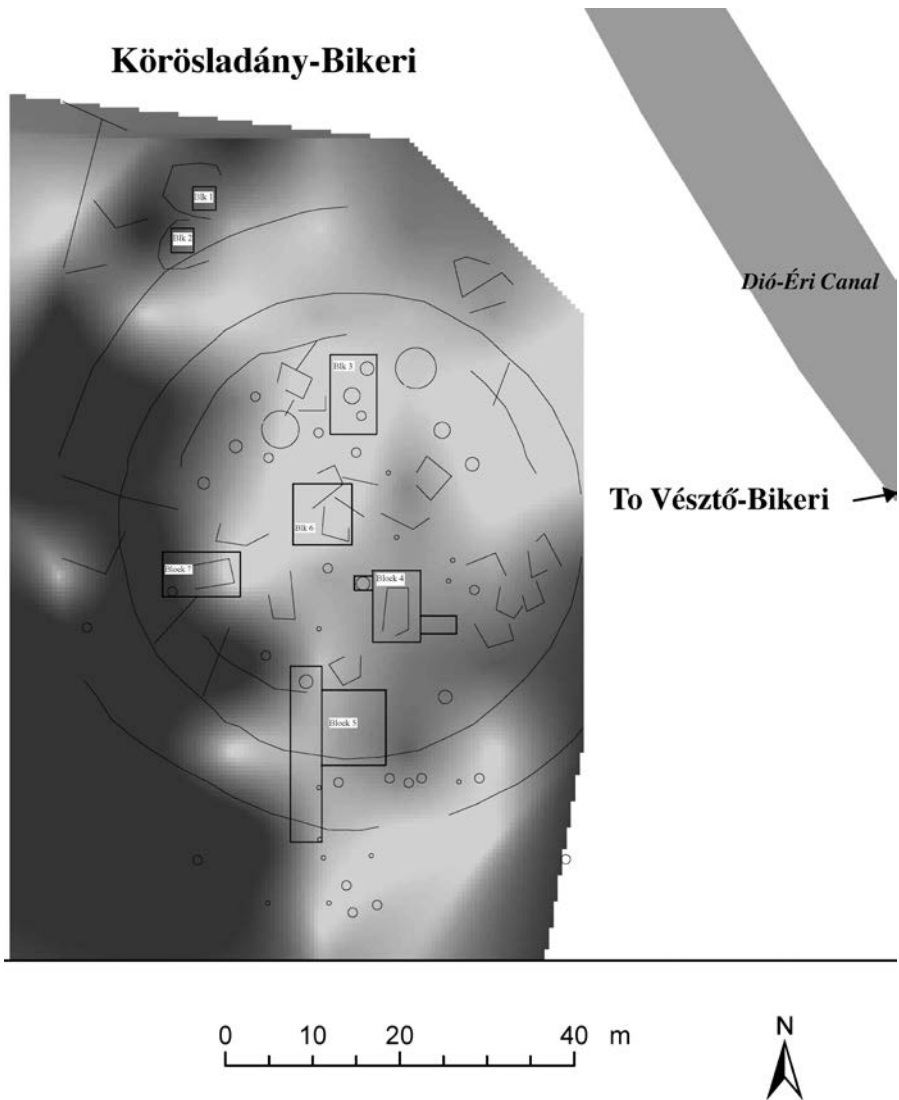
Fig. 6.7   Map prepared by the author from data collected by members of the KRAP research team showing phosphate levels, diagrammatic representations of magnetic anomalies, and excavation blocks from the 2001, 2005 and 2006 field seasons at Körösladány-Bikeri. Higher phosphate values are represented by darker colors, lower values are indicated by lighter colors.

Results of the Magnetic Surveys at Vésztõ-Bikeri

Excavations at Vésztõ-Bikeri verified most of the features with distinct geophysical signatures, such as wall trenches, ditches, pits, and a system of concentric ditches enclosing the site.[24] Vésztõ-Bikeri is a single component Tiszapolgár settlement. Virtually all of the ceramics from the site date to the Early Copper Age, and the only excavated features at the site that are *not* Tiszapolgár are two intrusive equestrian burials from the Hungarian conquest period.[25]

The three concentric circular anomalies identified during the magnetic survey enclosed a 0.7 ha area that contained several wattle-and-daub "longhouse" structures. A dozen isolated circular monopole magnetic anomalies, forming a ring around the central longhouse structures, were recorded. These were identified as possible pits, hearths, or kiln features.[26] Excavations of segments of the circular anomalies in the northern, eastern, and southeastern edges of the Vésztõ-Bikeri site showed that the outermost anomaly is a "U" or "V" shaped ditch (Fig. 6.8), 1.6 m deep, and 1.6 m wide (it narrows to 0.4 m in some places). In the northern and eastern excavation trenches, a shallow, narrow trench (0.4 m wide, 0.8 m deep) that lies about 2 m inside of the outer ditch was exposed, but this shallow trench was not visible below the plow zone in the larger excavation block in the southeast. A narrow (0.4–0.75 m) deep ditch that contained many large posts sunk 1.7 m below the modern surface was exposed 5 m inside of the wide, deep outer trench in all of three of these excavation blocks. About 0.8–2 m inside the palisade, several large post-holes spaced about 3 m apart (and sunk 1 m below the surface) were found at the southern end of the site. The large posts may have supported a platform that was raised on the inside of the palisade. After one of these large posts had been removed, and the posthole filled in, an adult Tiszapolgár burial was placed over the posthole (Fig. 6.8).

Two of the "longhouse" features in the center of the site were oriented east to west, and contained no internal hearths or storage features. The western wattle-and-daub structure measured 14 x 6 m. When it was abandoned, it was taken down and mounded over with midden trash and dirt, but its eastern wall trench was re-used as the western wall trench of the eastern wattle-and-daub structure (Fig. 6.5). The western structure measured 10 x 6 m, and contained a few ceramic vessels and several antler and bone projectile points, that had been burned in situ when the house was destroyed. The distribution of these materials suggests that the large structure contained discrete activity areas. This western structure had no eastern wall trench. It was burned, taken down, and mounded over with midden debris after it was abandoned.

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24 Sarris et al. 2004; Parkinson, Yerkes, and Gyucha 2004a; Parkinson et al. 2004b.

25 For the 10th century A.D., see Gyucha et al. 2004; Parkinson, Yerkes, and Gyucha 2004a.

26 Sarris et al. 2004.
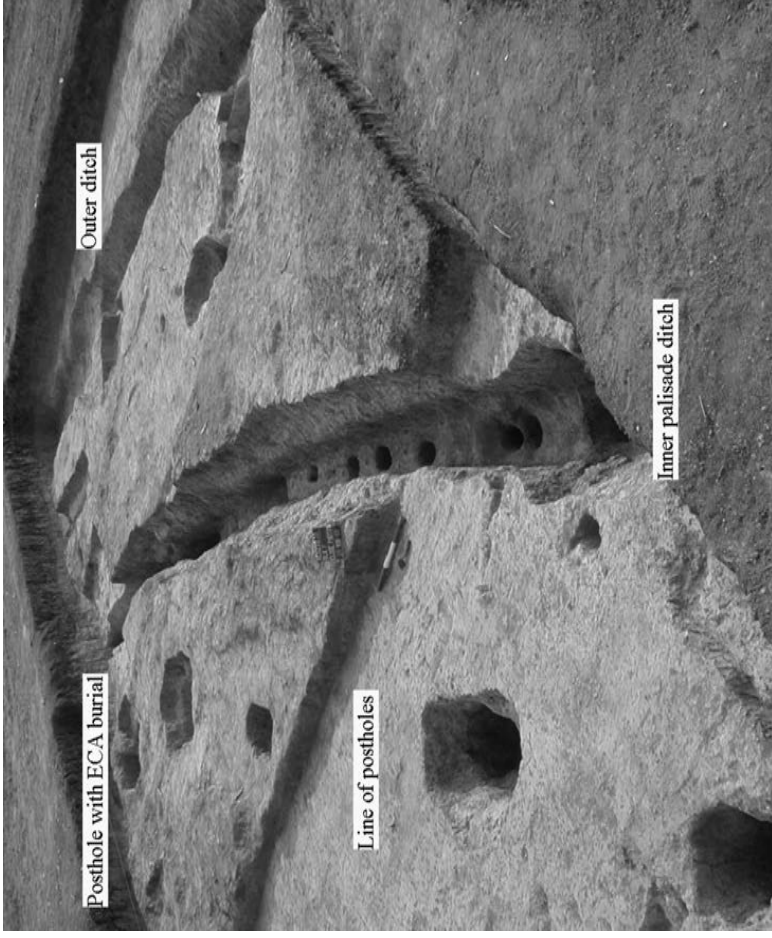
Fig. 6.8a Circular ditches and postholes in Excavation Block 7, southeastern edge of the *Vésztő-Bikeri* site showing location of ditches, deep posts, and Early Copper Age (ECA) burial. Trowel points north, scale is 60 cm long. Prepared by the author using a photo in the KRAP image files.
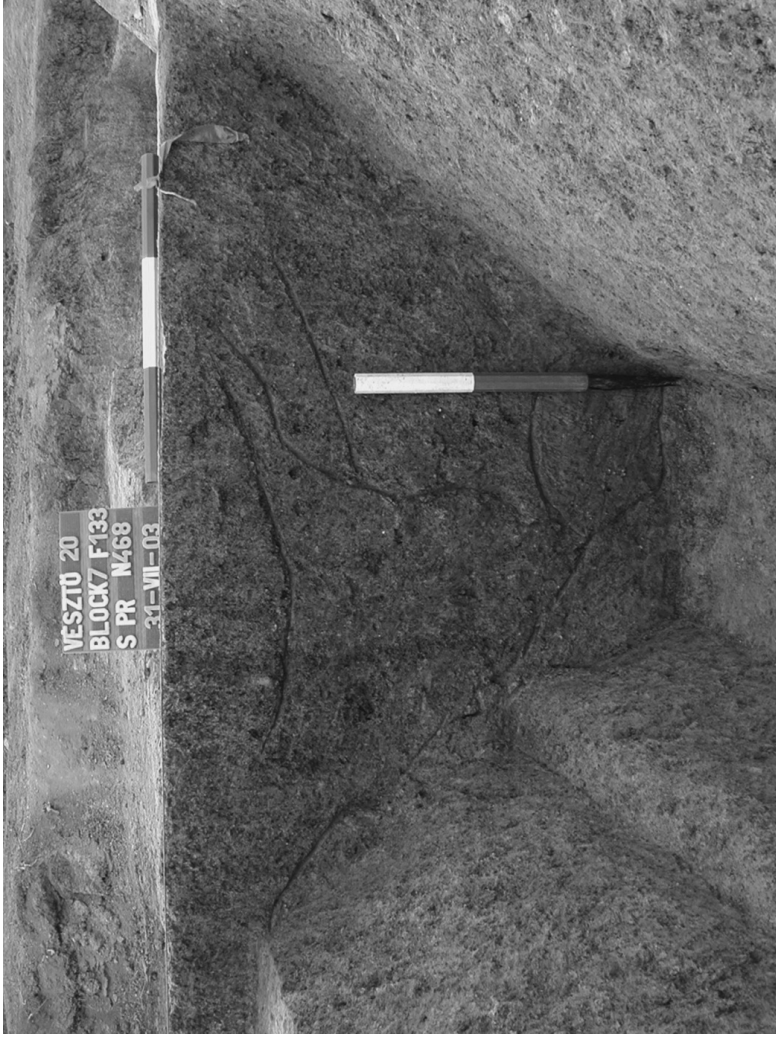
Fig. 6.8b   Section of outer ditch in Excavation Block 7 at Vésztő-Bikeri. View to north, scales are 60cm long. Photo from the KRAP image files.

Another possible rectangular structure was exposed north of the two large wattle-and-daub "longhouses." It was oriented northwest to southeast, and its floor was preserved, but only the northeast wall trench has been identified. It contained a large deposit of ceramic vessels, and several loom weights and shuttles associated with textile production. A child burial was found just outside the wall trench. Part of another rectangular structure was confirmed in one of the test excavation units excavated in 2000 (Block 1), but only part of one of its wall trenches was exposed.

The largest circular monopole magnetic anomaly was excavated, just south of the longhouse structures (B14 on Fig. 6.6). It was a deep (ca. 1.5 m) slightly bell-shaped pit that was filled with burned daub fragments, and then had a series of small rectangular kilns or ovens constructed just below the surface, inside of the pit. The feature may originally have been used as a well or cistern.[27]

Magnetic Survey Results at Körösladány-Bikeri

The surface collections from Körösladány-Bikeri included some ceramics dating to the Late Bronze Age (3500–2800 b.p.), Iron Age (Sarmatian Period, 2nd to 4th century A.D.), and Árpádian periods (end of the 1st millennium A.D.), so we cannot assume that all of the anomalies identified in the magnetic survey are associated with Early Copper Age features. Nonetheless, many of the same types of magnetic anomalies found at Vésztõ-Bikeri were recorded at Körösladány-Bikeri (Fig. 6.5).

The two Early Copper Age settlements are nearly identical in size. At both sites, three concentric circular anomalies enclosed a 0.7 ha area. Within these circular anomalies, many high magnetic gradient rectilinear and smaller circular monopole and dipole anomalies were identified at Körösladány-Bikeri; however, the rectangular features are smaller and more dispersed than at Vésztõ-Bikeri. The small isolated monopole anomalies, associated with burned features and pits, are more dispersed at Körösladány-Bikeri than at Vésztõ-Bikeri, and some of them are located outside of the outermost concentric anomaly (Fig. 6.7). Extreme dipole anomalies, caused by the presence of metal objects in the soil are more common at Körösladány-Bikeri, and there are at least three large monopole anomalies with magnetic signatures that are not like any of the pits or thermal features recorded at Vésztõ-Bikeri. A rectangular anomaly outside of the concentric circles (to the NW) was also identified in the magnetic survey (Fig. 6.7). Several linear low magnetic gradient anomalies were also found at Körösladány-Bikeri. These features may not be associated with the Early Copper Age settlement.

During our first full season of excavations at Körösladány-Bikeri in summer 2005, we investigated one of the large monopole anomalies, and found that it was an intrusive Sarmatian pit, over 2 m deep, with an irregular outline and a width of ca. 3 m. A smaller monopole anomaly located northeast of the Sarmatian pit turned out to be an intrusive Late Bronze Age pit or "hoard" that contained three nested Gava Culture ceramic drinking vessels. The remains of an infant were found in a "sheet midden" deposit near these pits. Another small monopole anomaly was excavated

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27   Parkinson, Yerkes, and Gyucha 2004a.

just inside of the innermost large circular anomaly. A nearly square intrusive pit measuring 1.2 m across and 1.4 m deep was found in this location, with Late Bronze Age ceramics in the fill. Even though more than 90% of the diagnostic sherds found on the surface of the Körösladány-Bikeri site are Early Copper Age Tiszapolgár types, our excavations have shown that several of the magnetic anomalies are associated with later components, but the three concentric circular anomalies are associated with the Tiszapolgár settlement.

In summer 2006, excavation of a 2.5 m segment of the prominent middle circular anomaly revealed that it is a trapezoidal ditch, 3.8 m wide and 2.2 m deep (in the magnetic survey, the diameter of the middle circle was 50 m). We also excavated two 3 m long segments of the narrow (0.4 m wide) inner trench, and found that it is similar to the inner palisade trench at Vésztõ-Bikeri. Sixteen large postholes were exposed, and most of them were also sunk 1.7 m below the modern ground surface.[28] The center of the inner trench was about 5 m from the center of the middle ditch, the same distance that separated the inner palisade and outer ditch at Vésztõ-Bikeri.[29] At Körösladány-Bikeri, a sheet midden deposit that contained only Tiszapolgár ceramics covered the inner palisade trench and middle ditch, suggesting that the palisade was taken up and the ditches were filled in before the settlement was abandoned. The magnetic survey also showed several breaks in the innermost circle, and that many features were located where the palisade once stood. This also suggests that the palisade was taken down when the settlement was expanded out to the far edge of the middle ditch.

Excavation of a small segment of the outermost circular anomaly at Körösladány-Bikeri revealed that it was located about 7 m outside of the middle ditch, and had a diameter of 70 m.[30] This outermost ditch was 2.0–2.3 m wide and 1.6 m deep, the same depth as the outer ditch at Vésztõ-Bikeri, but a little wider. It too was trapezoidal in section, with a flat bottom, and it was excavated in terrace-like steps each about 1.3 m long.

In 2005, we also opened an excavation block where one of the small rectangular high gradient anomalies was located (Fig. 6.7), and, while we did not find a wall-trench structure here, several large bell-shaped Tiszapolgár storage or refuse pits (rich in faunal remains) and two infant burials were exposed. In summer 2006, excavations in Block 7, where a large monopole anomaly was recorded, exposed an Early Copper Age well that was over 2 m deep. The well had been filled in after it had gone dry. The deep pit in Block 8 at Vésztõ-Bikeri was nearly the same size as this well.

Magnetic Susceptibility Results

The majority of the samples from Vésztõ-Bikeri had a lower magnetic susceptibility level than those from Körösladány-Bikeri.[31] The highest magnetic susceptibility

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28   This is the same depth as the posts in the inner trench at Vésztõ-Bikeri.
29   No shallow narrow ditch was found between the two at Körösladány-Bikeri.
30   Sarris 2004.
31   Sarris and Catanoso 2005.

values from Vésztõ-Bikeri are concentrated inside of the settlement, and decay to background values outside of the concentric ditches. At Körösladány-Bikeri, the highest values are not located within the limits of the settlement, but rather outside of them. These values may be associated with kilns or ovens that were located outside of the settlement, or they may be features from the Bronze Age and Iron Age components. The magnetic signals in the interior of the Körösladány-Bikeri settlement may be weaker on account of the fact that dwellings were not burned before they were dismantled.[32] It is also possible that the Early Copper Age settlement at Körösladány-Bikeri was not occupied as long as Vésztõ-Bikeri.

Results of the Geochemical Surveys

The soil chemical surveys recorded high concentrations of phosphate around the perimeter of Vésztõ-Bikeri.[33] Lower levels were measured in the central area of the site. This pattern fits the model for agricultural settlements where residents removed organic waste from living quarters and deposited their trash in "ring middens" at the perimeter of the site.

A different pattern was found in the soil samples from Körösladány-Bikeri. The highest phosphate values were concentrated in the northern half of the site, but elevated levels were distributed across the site (Fig. 6.7). Contour maps were created, based on the magnetometry survey and on the phosphorus results (Figs. 6.6 and 6.7). The highest values of extractable phosphorus were typically located in close proximity to the site's perimeter, while high levels were also recorded in areas identified in the magnetometry survey as kilns, ovens, pits, or hearths. At Körösladány-Bikeri, soil phosphate levels were higher near the circular magnetic anomalies, while lower levels were associated with the rectilinear features. Breaks in the high-value phosphate contours around the perimeters of the two sites may represent entryways.[34]

Conclusions

The results of our geophysical and geochemical investigations at the two Early Copper Age settlements on the Great Hungarian Plain provided data on site location and organization that support some, but not all, of the current interpretations of the transition from the Late Neolithic to the Early Copper Age. We were surprised to find palisades and ditches surrounding these small Tiszapolgár settlements. If the dispersal from tells and large nucleated Late Neolithic sites was associated with the increased mobility of herder-farmers involved in the "secondary products revolution," why did they invest so much time and effort in the construction of palisades and ditches?[35]

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32   This is also true of some of the longhouses at Vésztõ-Bikeri.

33   The high concentrations were near the circular enclosures.

34   Sarris 2004; Parkinson, Yerkes, and Gyucha 2004a, Parkinson et al. 2004b; Yerkes et al. 2007.

35   Sherratt 1981, 1983b.

If the Early Copper Age groups were increasing the size of their herds, and raising cattle, sheep, and goats for milk, wool, and labor as well as for meat, hides, bone, and marrow (the "secondary" products of animal domestication), they may have needed more lands for pastures and forage crops. However, their small dispersed settlements seem to have been more permanent than current models allow, and their need for defense from human and non-human predators may not have diminished.[36]

The large longhouse structures found at the single component Early Copper Age site at Vésztõ-Bikeri show that there was more continuity in house construction methods than was previously thought. In current models, large multi-family houses are associated with large, nucleated Late Neolithic settlements (including tells), while small single-family houses were associated with small, dispersed Early Copper Age settlements.[37] The longhouses at Vésztõ-Bikeri are large, and the radiocarbon dates associated with these wattle-and-daub structures (4500–4200 b.c., calibrated) are early for Tiszapolgár settlements,[38] suggesting close chronological and social affinities with Late Neolithic cultures in the region. However, no large structures were found at Körösladány-Bikeri, and the houses there may have been the more "typical" smaller Copper Age types. If Körösladány-Bikeri was occupied later in the Early Copper Age than Vésztõ-Bikeri, then it would seem that the dispersal of settlements and the reduction of settlement size took place before households were reorganized.

The geophysical and geochemical surveys show that the sizes of the two Early Copper Age sites are much smaller than the earlier nucleated Late Neolithic sites. Pairs of dispersed settlements seem to have been established, and each of the paired sites is nearly identical in size. We believe that these two fortified Tiszapolgár sites were not strictly contemporary, but were occupied in sequence. A nearly identical system of palisade and ditches was constructed at each site, but the internal organization of the settlements changed. At the earlier Vésztõ-Bikeri site, we see a centralized pattern, where a sequence of longhouses were built in the center and surrounded by an inner ring of pits, kilns, and cooking features, and an outer ring just inside the palisade where animals were kept and where trash was discarded. At the later Körösladány-Bikeri site, the smaller structures are intermixed with the other features, and extend out to the "ring midden" area where the animals may have been kept.

At both sites, we found evidence that houses and palisades were taken down, posts were removed, and trenches, postholes, and pit features were filled in and mounded over when the sites were abandoned. Some of the structures at Vésztõ-Bikeri seem to have been intentionally burned when they were taken down, while others were not.[39] This leveling and mounding over of abandoned structures and features is reminiscent of tell-building during the Middle and Late Neolithic Ages on

36 Contrary to Bognár-Kutzián 1972.

37 Bognár-Kutzián 1972; Raczky 1987; Parkinson 2002.

38 Gyucha et al. 2004; Parkinson, Yerkes, and Gyucha 2004a; Parkinson et al. 2004b.

39 We have not yet found any evidence for intentional burning of structures at Körösladány-Bikeri and geophysical investigations suggest that there was less "thermal activity" at that site.

the Great Hungarian Plain, but instead of building on top of the abandoned structures and features, the Copper Age people seem to have built next to them.

We still do not know why the Late Neolithic populations abandoned their large nucleated settlements near major rivers and dispersed across the flatlands. It appears that each of the large household groups that lived together at tells and large nucleated sites moved to a new location and established a separate settlement. The geophysical and geochemical surveys and excavations at Vésztõ-Bikeri and Körösladány-Bikeri show us how this fragmentation and dispersal continued at Early Copper Age settlements, which became the residences of longhouse-centered households. Later in the Copper Age, the central longhouses were replaced with small, dispersed houses, suggesting that the extended family households broke up into nuclear family groups. Our interpretations of the transition from the Late Neolithic to the Early Copper Age will surely change as we conduct non-destructive geophysical and geochemical surveys at other sites in the region. However, by combining the results of non-destructive surveys with limited excavations at specific "targets" at these two Early Copper Age sites, we have been able reconstruct their layout and internal organization after only a few field seasons—something that would have taken us decades to accomplish if we had to rely on excavations to expose the site plans.

Acknowledgements

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Interpreting the Past through the Present: The Ethnographic, Ethnoarchaeological, and Experimental Study of Early Agriculture

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Abstract

This article provides an overview of how archaeologists study ancient farming in Greece and Cyprus, with a focus on the various implements farmers have used. The research entailed interviews with present farmers and the examination of tools in use until recently. The central perspective emphasizes the strategic planning in which all farmers, past and present, must engage. As a result of this research, I challenge the notion of "traditional" farmers as inflexible and wedded to outdated practices and tools. Instead, it becomes clear that agriculture requires a fine balance between conservative and innovative approaches to the essential task of providing the daily bread.

Introduction

We are complacent about the role of farming in our lives today, but Brian Fagan has called the emergence of farming "one of the catalytic events of human prehistory."[1] About 10,000 years ago, humans developed agriculture, and began to move away from hunting and gathering. Over the past 50 years, several key ideas have dominated the discussion of the origin and spread of agriculture in the Ancient world. The emergence of farming has been extolled as the great event that catapulted humans along the road to civilization. One view was the Agricultural or Neolithic Revolution proposed by Gordon Childe, who suggested that the various innovations that led to domestication occurred in a burst of creativity at oases dotted around the desiccated landscape of the Near East, and especially Egypt, immediately after the Pleistocene.[2] Childe argued cogently that the intense interaction between, and eventual manipulation of, plants and animals by humans, in the close confines of these well-watered spots, led to the genetic changes that made various species

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1   Fagan 1995, p. 225.
2   Childe 1951.

dependent on people, and thus increased their importance in our diet. Once in place, the Neolithic complex spread rapidly throughout southwest Asia and into Europe. Agriculture kicked off an unprecedented increase in human population and laid the foundation for civilization because it made possible specialization, surplus, division of labor, and other features of urban society.[3] The Marxist neo-evolutionist Leslie White also described the development of agriculture as a pivotal episode in human history because of the enhanced capacity to capture energy that it brought about.[4]

While some scholars portray agriculture as liberating humans from the drudgery of the daily food quest that was hunting and gathering, others have provided a more sober assessment that constitutes a second major perspective. To be fair, Childe and White did not view agriculture as an unqualified boon to humanity, but the second approach is perhaps best summarized by Jared Diamond's description of it as "the worst mistake" people ever made, stating that "recent discoveries suggest that the adoption of agriculture, supposedly our most decisive step toward a better life, was in many ways a catastrophe from which we have never recovered."[5] Diamond lists the negative effects of reliance on domesticated plants and animals: development of social inequality, malnutrition among the majority of a given population, the radical alteration of local environments, etc.

To complicate matters further, our view of farming is perhaps too often clouded by either stereotypical or romantic depictions. On the one hand, we sometimes think of farmers as stolid, unrefined people, not much brighter than the clods of earth they break up in a monotonous yearly routine; on the other hand, farmers are thought of as the "salt of the earth" who exert a pacific influence on us all. As an example of the latter approach, Europeans extolled the virtues of peasants and the peasant life in the 19th century, as part of a burgeoning nationalism in various countries.[6]

I would like to suggest that the academic debate about the nature of agriculture and the people who practice it comes down to one central consideration, i.e., the extent to which farmers are tied to tradition. There are two basic ways to think about this matter. The first is what I and others call the "conventional peasant model," which argues that custom largely guides the "traditional" farmer, who is thus unwilling to change.[7] As Redfield defined such folk cultures, they are often isolated, exhibit strong ties to religion (if not superstition), and have a standard way of doing things, from which they rarely deviate.[8] A number of anthropologists who have worked in Greece espouse some form of this model.[9] This approach contrasts with the "strategic planning model," which suggests that farmers exhibit behavior that is every bit as rational as that of urban dwellers. If farmers maintain old methods and use traditional implements, perhaps they have reasons that have more to do with efficiency than with a closed mindset. Farmers know their own interest and act on

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3   Childe 1950.
4   White 1943.
5   Diamond 2001, p. 72.
6   Gagliardo 1969.
7   See Shutes 1997.
8   Redfield 1989.
9   See Campbell 1964; du Boulay 1974.
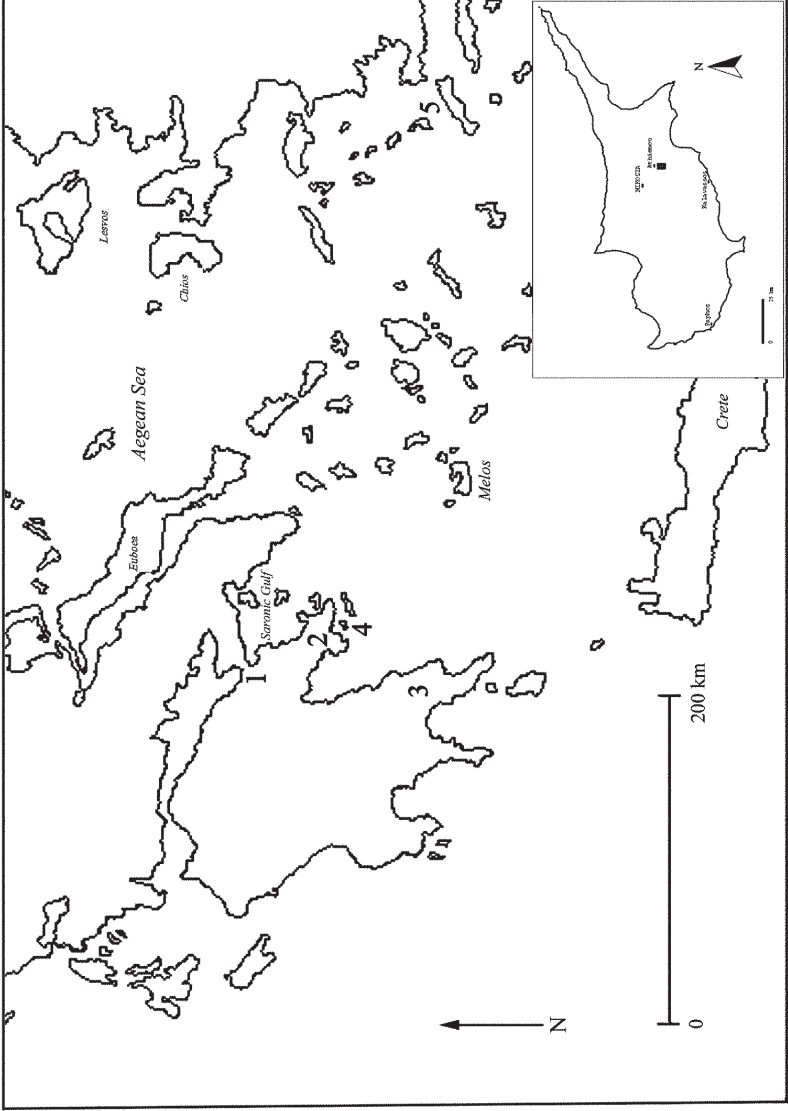
Fig .7.1   Map of Greece showing locations mentioned in the text. For Greece: (1) Corinthia (2) Southern Argolid (3) Lakonia (4) Dokos (5) Kalymnos. The inset shows Cyprus, with relevant sites designated.

it with regard to land tenure and use, to the equipment they employ in the fields and elsewhere, and to the structure of their social relationships. The model suggests that farmers constantly weigh costs against benefits in a risk-reduction strategy. It is not that they are unwilling to change; it is that a miscalculation in adopting some new crop or method of cultivation can have devastating impacts.

In the present article, I adopt the strategic approach for two reasons. First, it offers a dynamic model of decision-making that more accurately reflects how farmers come to terms with their world; the farmer is an active player in the economic and social systems that comprise village life, rather than a passive recipient of traditional practices. Second, the model provides a mechanism for understanding change at the local level; for archaeology, this element is particularly important. In order to illustrate the utility of this approach, I present below information from several projects in Cyprus and Greece that highlight the active role of farmers in determining the conditions of life (Fig. 7.1).

Another important aspect of this study is the use of several different lines of evidence that inform the archaeology of farming. In order to make sense of the material record that researchers encounter through excavation and locational survey, we must build strong inferences which depend on comparisons that demonstrate the material correlates of key behaviors. Since the archaeologist does not observe directly the actions that produced the residue that one studies, he/she has recourse to several aids. One is ethnographic analogy, in which the archaeologist delves into the literature, in the attempt to find descriptions of objects that resemble those found on sites, with accompanying information about how the people utilized them. A second approach is ethnoarchaeology, in which the archaeologist personally collects present-day ethnographic data with a specific focus on how people create and manipulate the material around them.[10] The third approach is experimental archaeology, which entails reconstruction of past activities under controlled conditions, in order to isolate relevant factors.[11] Below I employ these techniques in the effort to understand the character of major agricultural activities.

The Practice of Farming

The First Steps—Selecting and Preparing the Land

Agricultural practices can be broken down into several key categories. First, there is preparation of the soil and the sowing of seeds. From the outset, the strategic nature of farming was evident in the selection of fields for cultivation. The non-random concentration of Neolithic sites on certain soil types clearly indicates that early farmers selected areas for utilitarian purposes. For example, early cultivators in the area around the Franchthi Cave in the southern Argolid planted crops in fields watered by fresh-water springs.[12] As agriculture expanded to central Europe, farmers initially concentrated on the light loess soils that they could prepare for planting with

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10 White 1974.
11 Coles 1973.
12 Jameson et al. 1994, p. 343.

little more than digging sticks and hoes for tools[13]; since these soils required the least effort to cultivate, it is hard to escape the conclusion that early farmers focused on efficiency.

In modern Greece, the selection of land for cultivation still depends to a significant extent on such practical matters. In the hilly terrain that forms a significant part of the Greek countryside, it is often difficult to find large swaths of contiguous fields. While not all of the land in such regions is amenable to plowing with tractors, wherever possible Greek farmers have moved relatively rapidly to mechanized cultivation, but only after weighing various considerations carefully. Friedl documented this process in Boeotia in the 1950s, noting that:

> Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment….Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse….Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor.[14]

On the islands of the Aegean, extensive terracing of hillslopes has extended the limited amount of arable land. My own observation of such activity on several islands clearly indicates the effort to expand the quantity of cultivable land. During the 1980s, on the west side of Idhra, the steep slopes south of the main town were covered with terraces, most no more than two meters wide, with no access for tractors; similar conditions can be observed on the Methana peninsula, Kea, Dokos,[15] and Kalymnos (Fig. 7.2). Where traditional plowing techniques have persisted in those areas until relatively recently, the reason has had more to do with pragmatic issues (cost of equipment and fuel, limited size of holdings) than simply with some desire to maintain traditional methods; the practices are still viable, and thus people are encouraged to continue their use.

Fig. 7.2   Terraces on several islands (left, Kea; center and right, Evraionisos).

A similar series of factors has influenced the use of machinery in Cyprus. In the Athienou area, where I have conducted research over the past 16 years as a member of the Athienou Archaeological Project (AAP), land use has also followed general economic trends or opportunities. Located at the southern edge of the fertile Mesaoria plain, the region has been a major food-producing center for centuries. Athienou is

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13   Starling 1985.
14   Friedl 1962, p. 21.
15   Kardulias 2000.

a small town situated in the center of Cyprus, 20 km southeast of the capital of Nikosia. The town straddles the divide between the fertile Mesaoria plain to the north, and the dissected chalky hills to the south, providing access to several types of ecological zones. The population almost tripled between 1881 and 1982 (increasing from 1,192 to 3,524), and then rose to 4,261 by 2001. The local economy centers on agriculture, but has demonstrated both considerable variety and flexibility since the 19th century. The crops grown in the fields around Athienou have included primarily wheat and barley, along with some fruits and vegetables, and small orchards of olive and almond trees. The herding of sheep, goats, and cattle has been part of the mixed agricultural economy for well over a century. In 1974, the townspeople lost access to the rich farming land north of the settlement because of the Turkish invasion and the subsequent partition of the island; Athienou sits just south of the Green Line, in the neutral zone between the Greek and Turkish sectors, and has a U.N. outpost at its north end. Since the war, the natives of Athienou have turned increasingly to dairy farming, and many fields have been converted to the cultivation of barley to feed the cattle; the area now ranks second in Cyprus for the number of dairy cattle. The open areas of the Malloura Valley south of Athienou are ideal for mechanized plowing, and as a result the townspeople have adopted the use of such equipment. In the effort to bring more land under cultivation, the farmers have even resorted to the use of heavy machinery to tear up hillocks with soft limestone outcrops; after several years of plowing, these rocky zones produce good crops of barley (Fig. 7.3). As transportation has improved and made it possible to bring fruits and vegetables from the coastal plains, the farmers of Athienou have replaced most of their vineyards and orchards with barley fields. These small-town farmers are intimately in tune with the fluctuations of the national and international economies.

Reaping the Rewards—Harvesting

The second major agricultural activity is harvesting, which, for purposes of analysis, can be divided into segments based on the types of tools used and the labor employed in gathering the crop. Among the earliest tools used in this process were reaping knives and sickles that consisted of a series of flint pieces inserted in wooden, or occasionally bone, handles. The flints have a very distinctive series of traits that identifies them as agricultural implements, even though the organic haft in almost all cases is not preserved. Sickle elements are typically elongated blanks that exhibit retouch, the intent of which is twofold: (1) to give the piece a rectangular to subrectangular outline, usually by truncating one end; and (2) to create a serrated edge that is more effective in cutting plant stems than a straight margin. Delicate retouch produces a series of four or five teeth on one side of the tools. When such pieces have been used they acquire a polish or sheen (often called "silica gloss") that is visible to the naked eye. My examination of stone tool assemblages from prehistoric sites in Greece,[16] Cyprus, and Iran[17] reveals that these tools were remarkably consistent

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16 Kardulias 1992; Kardulias and Runnels 1995.
17 Kardulias 2003.

throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Near East in the Neolithic Age and the Bronze Age.
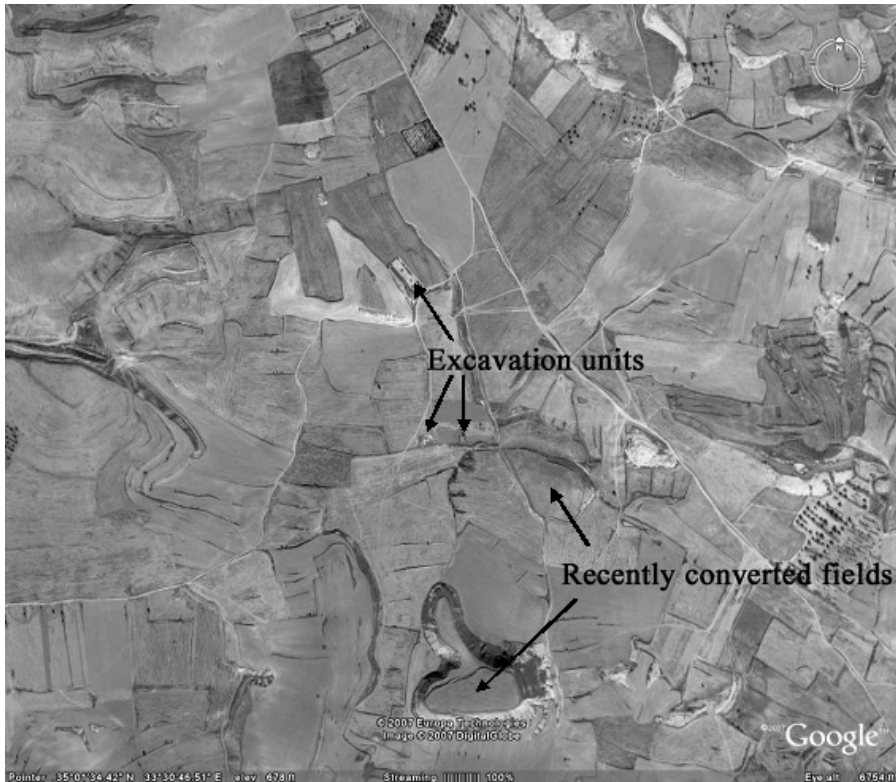
Fig. 7.3   Satellite image of the Malloura Valley in central Cyprus showing location of barley fields and recently converted hilltops.

What becomes clear from such comparative work is that people in different regions chose to use a basic tool for millennia because it fulfilled the rigorous requirements of the task at a low cost. Flint is widely available, and the skill to transform raw material into finished tools was broadly known. To confirm the use of the flints as sickle elements, scholars have conducted experimental work and micro-wear analysis of the tools. The experiments involve, first, the manufacture of replica pieces by use of knapping techniques that were reproduced by observing modern flint workers (Fig. 7.4), by reading ethnohistoric accounts of such techniques among native peoples at time of contact, and through a process of trial and error. Then, researchers used the tools on a variety of materials. The experimental pieces were then examined under a microscope in order to determine the wear pattern, which was compared to archaeological specimens.[18] The experimental tools acquired several distinctive types of wear. First was the silica gloss; microscopic examination revealed that the shearing action created a polish easily distinguishable from that

18   Keeley 1980; Vaughan 1985.

created from the scraping of hides, wood, bone, and other materials. Second, the slashing motion of reaping creates scratches or striations not visible to the naked eye that run parallel to the working edge. Third, the force of the action removed minute flakes from the edge. The archaeological examples that I have examined from the Southern Argolid, Lakonia, and the Corinthia in Greece, as well as the assemblage from Iran, all reveal similar patterns of wear (Fig. 7.5). It is interesting to note that when bronze replaced stone in sickles in the Late Bronze Age and after, the basic shape of the tool remained unchanged. Fig. 7.6 shows people using metal sickles of essentially ancient form outside the village of Sofiko in the eastern Corinthia.

Fig. 7.4   Experimental sickles

Nevertheless, harvesting tools did change over time. A variety of factors affected the evolution of such tools, including the extent of land worked. For example, historical sources and some artistic representations indicate that the Romans used a reaping machine in the open fields of Gaul. A draft animal pushed this complex implement, "the body of which is a box or basket, and the front of which is a reaping comb which slices or tears off the heads of grain."[19] However, people in the Aegean and Europe retained the use of hand tools such as the scythe and sickle well into the 20th century.[20] The conditions on small islands in particular favored the continued use of such implements, because both the physical conditions of the land and the small scale of the enterprises did not warrant mechanized farming. The situation on Dokos, a small island, illustrates this point well. Dokos is one of a series of islets near the Greek mainland that have evidence of occupation since the Bronze

19   Steiner 1969, p. 165.
20   White 1970, p. 449.

Age, despite the lack of sources of freshwater.[21] Ethnoarchaeological research on Dokos in the late 1990s recorded a pattern of land use that included the use of draft animals to plow terraced fields, harvesting with hand tools, and processing of grain on a stone-lined threshing floor (see below). By 1997, the last resident couple no longer farmed, but did maintain a herd of about 175 goats and sheep.[22] Despite its proximity to the mainland, the terrain of Dokos, along with the absence of a dock for unloading heavy equipment, made the use of modern farm implements impractical. As other economic opportunities became available, the permanent residents on the island dwindled from about 30 in the 1950s to two by the end of the century.

Fig. 7.5   Microphotograph (magnification 100x) of threshing sledge flint from Greece showing intense polish and striations from wear

Archaeologists have been concerned with how Ancient peoples undertook harvesting. Obviously, the gathering of a crop is crucial to the survival of an agricultural community. Perhaps more so than any other farming activity, the harvest is a highly labor-intensive activity that must occur within a confined time frame. As a result, gathering requires a concentration of labor that communities and families must manage carefully. Just who participated in this activity in Antiquity? Kristiansen argues that the presence of metal sickles in the graves of women suggests

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21   Gregory 1986, 1997; Kardulias et al. 1995.
22   Kardulias 2000.

that they played the primary role as harvesters during the Late Bronze Age in central Europe.[23]

Fig.7.6   People harvesting grain by hand with sickles near the village of Sofiko in the Corinthia in 1985

Ethnographic data are again highly instructive on this matter. On Kalymnos in the eastern Aegean in the 1930s and 1940s, a small landowner might hire one or two people (usually men, but also women on occasion) to assist with the harvest.[24] Payment often consisted of a small amount of money, along with meals, during the period of employment. Women frequently managed these activities, since a number of men were away on sponge-fishing expeditions at harvest time in late spring or early summer. The farmers of Ancient Corinth on the mainland often hired gangs of agricultural workers, particularly from Megara, to bring in the crop along the fertile coastal plain.[25] In the modern Corinthia and other parts of the Peloponnesos, gypsies often serve the role of migrant farm workers. For a number of years, the gypsies set up a large camp on the eastern outskirts of modern Corinth, and a second smaller one to the south of the site of the Late Antique Lechaion Basilica along the shore of the Corinthian Gulf west of the city. I observed another annual encampment outside the village of Koilada in the southern Argolid. The gypsies hire themselves out as day laborers, but also purchase agricultural produce, such as watermelons, that they sell to surrounding communities from their trucks. After the collapse of the communist

23   Kristiansen 1998, p. 106.
24   Theodosia Kardulias, personal communication, 1997.
25   Spyros Marinos, personal communication, 1985.

regime in Tirana, many Albanians moved into Greece, and formed another pool of migrant workers.

A similar pattern of transferable labor has existed on Cyprus for at least the past 15 years. Earlier in the 20th century, some local people in Athienou worked for others during harvest time. Since the 1990s, a number of people from Russia and former Soviet republics, as well as Asia, have immigrated to Cyprus. The prosperous farmers of Athienou hire many of these émigrés on a seasonal basis, and occasionally on a more permanent basis, to assist in a range of agricultural activities, but in particular the harvest.[26] The Russians and Asians fill a role similar to that of the gypsies and Albanians in Greece, i.e., a reserve labor pool.

How might this pattern of seasonal agricultural labor inform us about previous times? Certainly, labor requirements in Antiquity were intense. Since harvesting was done by hand, a concentrated labor force was necessary. The classic studies of Jack Harlan provide some idea of workload in early and historical agricultural societies.[27] Using stone sickles, he was able to gather one kg of wild barley in one hour, from which data he estimated that a family could gather sufficient grain in three weeks, using stone sickles or their hands, to sustain them for a year. Other experiments indicate a potential yield of 416–902 kg/ha, the time required to harvest an area of 25 m² being 45 minutes to two hours.[28]

The social organization that supported Ancient agricultural societies is also of great importance. Very useful in this context is Wolf's detailed examination of ethnographic data on peasant family organization as a response to particular environmental and economic conditions.[29] Extended families with permanent members are most likely to occur:

> …where a domestic group controls most or all of the natural resources and skills required to maintain itself… Such a complex domestic unit may in fact show considerable division of labor within it. While some workers engage in production, others carry on processing… At the same time, many hands can be massed for repetitive tasks that require large bodies of workers, such as forest clearance or a harvest.[30]

Wolf also notes that "the harvest can sometimes be brought in by hiring seasonal workers who collect their wages and move on, or by patterns of cooperative labor in which neighbors help each other on stipulated critical occasions but do not participate in one domestic unit."[31] Wolf provides a useful summary of the practical matters that peasant families in all periods would need to consider. His suggestion, that utilitarian issues determined the structure of peasant families, is certainly applicable to the past as far back as the Bronze Age, when farmers interacted with various aspects of the state. The tracing of such multi-generational families in the archaeological record may be accomplished by examining the size of house compounds in places such as

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26 Michael Toumazou, personal communication, 2005.
27 Harlan 1967.
28 Anderson 1999, p. 126.
29 Wolf 1966, pp. 65–67.
30 Wolf 1966, p. 66.
31 Wolf 1966, p. 66.

Cyprus, where each structure had an upper limit of 5.5 people on average.[32] Several such houses could have formed an extended family unit.

Processing the Crop—Threshing

The last topic I treat is threshing, the process by which the edible grain is separated from the chaff. There is a variety of techniques to accomplish this task, including beating against a surface, using hand flails, trampling by hoofed animals, or riding over with a sledge.[33] The most common methods in the Aegean and Cyprus were the use of animals and threshing sledges, both of which required threshing floors. In the former case, horses, mules, donkeys, or oxen are tethered to a central pole and walk a circular pattern as they tread the grain stalks. The pressure from the weight of the animals breaks the stalks and separates the grain from the stalks. Although the use of animals is an important threshing method, in the remainder of this section I focus on the use of sledges, because this method leaves a stronger archaeological signature.

The threshing sledge (Ancient Greek: *tribolos*, *tikani*; Latin: *tribulum*; Modern Greek: *dhoukani*) was a common agricultural tool in the Mediterranean region for thousands of years until it was largely replaced by modern farm machinery in the 1950s and 1960s; its use persisted in some areas until very recently. The threshing sledge typically consists of one or two thick wooden planks (if there are two, they are fastened together securely) with one end curved upward so that the implement can channel grain stalks to its underside. The bottom surface has staggered rows of wedge-shaped slots into which are fitted pieces of chert; on occasion, metal runners substitute for the flakes, and form the cutting edge (Fig. 7.7). A person stands or sits on the upper surface of the boards while a draft animal pulls the sledge around a dirt or stone threshing floor (*aloni*), on which are placed harvested grain stalks.[34] The flints or metal runners chop the stalks, and also separate the kernels of grain from the stem. Threshing is the necessary step prior to winnowing. The sledge was a critically important part of the Mediterranean farmer's inventory. Historical references to threshing sledges appear in the Bible,[35] in a series of Roman authors,[36] and as a vague description in an early Mesopotamian text.[37] Ethnographic accounts include the work of Bordaz (1965, 1969), Crawford (1935), Hornell (1930), and Pearlman (1985). Archaeologists working on Cyprus have paid great attention to this mechanism because sledges were in use within living memory, and the people who made and used them were available for interview[38]; the men who prepared the flints (*athkiakadhes)* were craft specialists.

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32 Yerkes 2000.

33 White 1970, p. 185.

34 Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, plate 3.5; Lohmann 1992, fig. 23; Young 1956, p. 124.

35 Amos 1:3; Isaiah 41:15; Job 41:30; see also Barker 1985; Borowski 1987.

36 Columella, *Res Rustica* I.vi.24; Varro, *de Re Rustica* I.lii.1; Virgil, *Georgics* I.164; Pliny XVIII.298; Cato CXXXV.1.

37 Kramer 1963, p. 342.

38 Ataman 1999; Fox 1984; Pearlman 1985; Whittaker 1996, 2000.

Fig. 7.7   A Cypriot threshing sledge in the village of Athienou

Stanley-Price notes that most of the raw material for threshing-sledge flints on Cyprus in the first half of the 20th century came from the Kalavassos area on the south coast.[39] The knappers went to the sources, prepared the flints, and then traveled from village to village to provide new pieces for the threshing boards. Fox's work in the Paphos district of Cyprus indicated that the *athkiakadhes* were also the carpenters who made the sledges, so that one craftsman produced the entire implement.[40] Fox's analysis of the threshing-sledge flint characteristics for the Palaipaphos survey shows that, out of 177 sites with lithic artifacts, the *dhoukani* was produced at 113 of them.[41] Since the *dhoukani* was used widely on the island (and in many parts of Greece and Turkey), one must be careful in assigning function to stone tools from surveys.

My own work with threshing sledges has focused on the delineation of the diagnostic traits of the flint inserts, to help address the problem identified by Fox and others. Through microwear and typological analysis of a sample of 13 flints taken from sledges in Greece, my colleague Richard Yerkes and I found a distinctive series of traits, including well-developed plant polish and micro-striations parallel to the working edge that would have been in contact with the threshing floor. In several cases, we noted a particularly bright polish that indicates the use of sledges on stone-

39   Stanley-Price 1972, p. 21.
40   Fox 1984.
41   In Rupp et al. 1984, pp. 139–140.

lined floors, so we can distinguish the type of *aloni* from the flint inserts alone.[42] With these criteria established, we examined the lithic assemblage collected during our intensive survey of the Malloura Valley south of Athienou, and identified 22 threshing sledge flints (Fig. 7.8), the distribution of which tells us about the dispersal of agricultural activities in the past. Since the sledge flints were manufactured in the past two centuries, we have a good picture of the agricultural landscape in the Late Ottoman and British periods, as well as a model for understanding the placement of farming installations in earlier eras (Fig. 7.9). To expand the sample further, I am currently examining other examples of threshing sledges in and around

Fig. 7.8   Threshing sledge flints from the AAP survey

Athienou. I am also attempting to obtain more ethnographic/oral history data on who manufactured the sledges, and how they arrived in the village. One possible link is the fact that Athienou was known in the 19th and early 20th centuries as a center for muleteers who transported goods throughout the island. At a broader level, another goal of future research will be to plot the distribution of different types of threshing floors throughout the Aegean, Cyprus, and Turkey, to see what pattern emerges. Currently, the available data indicate that sledges were used in Thessaly, the Corinthia, and some islands (e.g., Melos) in the Aegean; on Cyprus; and in much of Anatolia. Threshing was performed by tethered animals in the southern Argolid, some of the neighboring islets, and Kalymnos in the eastern Aegean. The question is whether there is some distinct set of economic, environmental, or cultural factors

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42   Kardulias and Yerkes 1996.
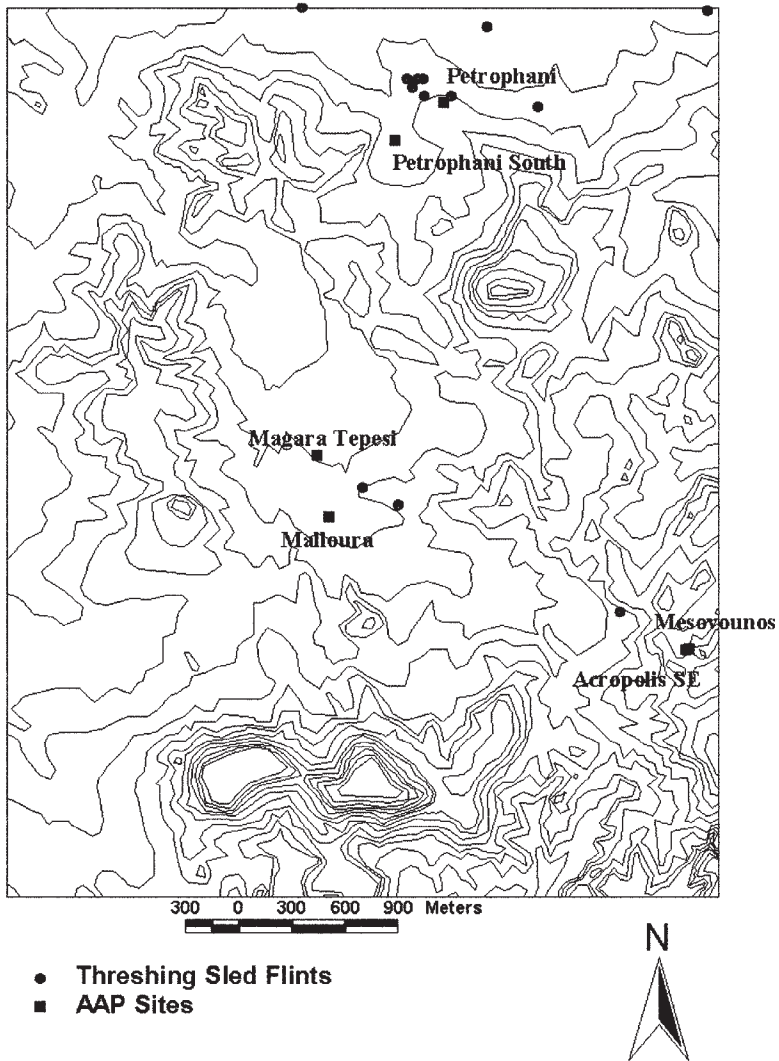
Fig. 7.9   Map of threshing sledge flint distribution in the Malloura Valley
            generated by GIS

that determine which method was used in particular areas; an initial review of the data suggests that only one method or the other was used in a given region, not both simultaneously, but I will investigate this issue further. In either case, what has become clear from prior investigations is that older techniques persisted in many areas, because they offered local farmers viable solutions to common problems.

Traditional practices and equipment were tried-and-true techniques for providing sustenance, but were adjusted in the effort to buffer farmers from risk. As Halstead and Jones note, farmers constantly adjust their practices, juggle with scarce time

and labor and reschedule competing priorities in order to complete the most urgent or essential tasks. Such flexibility, well illustrated on Amorgos by the frequent tactical decision to retain "aposoria" [incompletely winnowed fraction] during crop processing, is a vital element in the armory of the Mediterranean farmer.[43]

Conclusion

Farmers by necessity are eminently practical. Examination of the historic and ethnographic literature reveals the ability of farmers to respond to a variety of environmental and cultural shifts by altering practices as necessary. It is also clear that the long experience of agriculturalists in the eastern Mediterranean has taught them that one should hold on to those objects and ways of doing things that have proved useful until there is good reason to change. It is not that they are unable to envision change or violate years of practice; rather, they need to be convinced that there is something to be gained by making an alteration to a convention that has demonstrated utility. Archaeologists can better come to terms with the material record if they, too, embrace this basic principle.

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43   Halstead and Jones 1997, p. 287.

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<center>Chapter 8</center>

Late Antique Archaeology and the Internet

<center>Samuel B. Fee</center>

Abstract

While the use of technology in the study of archaeology is no new endeavor, the past ten years have seen some significant advances—particularly with the maturation of the Internet as an easily employed information distribution system. Current web technologies build significantly upon earlier efforts to share archaeological information and make it available for learning and analysis. These technologies offer great promise for the future study of Late Antiquity, in their ability both to make real archaeological data readily available for analysis and interpretation, and to provide virtual experiences for interested students and scholars alike.

Introduction

One of the first educational hypermedia projects ever produced in the field of archaeology was the *Excavations at Isthmia* multimedia program.[1] Tim Gregory and I collaborated on this project in the early 1990s. Of course, at that time, multimedia was nothing new; however, its implementation in educational technology products was still to be understood, and we were at the forefront of that endeavor—at least as far as the field of archaeology was concerned. We also had great interest in learning where such new technologies could take us in regard to teaching and learning about archaeology. Not long afterward, the advent of the World Wide Web led us in new directions, and by 1993 we had established one of the first websites for an archaeological excavation. These initial forays into educational technology taught us a considerable amount about learning with technology—particularly concerning the visual presentation of material—but many of the more interesting opportunities for applying technology to the field have arisen in the last decade or so.

In particular, the development of sophisticated database-driven websites has broken new ground in making real data available for archaeological research. While there are some excellent examples of databases from cultural contexts other than the Eastern Mediterranean, they nonetheless provide valuable models for archaeological study. Further, in recent years several very good examples of this kind of work have

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1   Fee 1998.

arisen from survey projects in the Eastern Mediterranean. These collections of online data resources can be used effectively to teach others about the research itself, as well as about the overall archaeological research process. While as yet tested only to a limited degree, such tools provide for real transparency of analysis, since students and instructors alike can now make use of real archaeological data in a classroom setting during instruction. These new technologies, which combine research and learning opportunities, and can be employed toward both endeavors, will take archaeology education into new directions. Such advances owe their genesis to the initial work which we conducted in the early 1990s.

From its initial inception, *Excavations at Isthmia* was designed to facilitate a visual understanding of archaeological concepts in general, and the archaeological site at Isthmia in particular. Its success was driven by a smart application of hypermedia technologies. Specifically, the application incorporated carefully selected imagery to help students build their understanding of individual features, artifacts, or archaeological concepts (such as stratigraphy or relative dating). In addition, animation technology was added, to draw student attention to particular items that might be difficult to observe by the untrained eye. Finally, hypertext capabilities enabled learners to access additional content, when such was desired or deemed necessary for a more complete understanding. This left ultimate control of
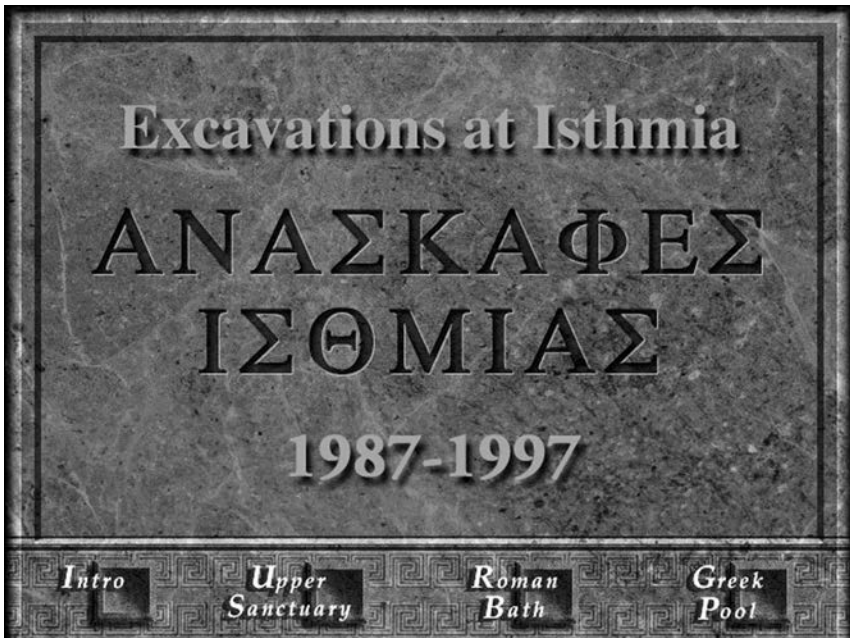
Fig. 8.1   Excavations at Isthmia Hypermedia CD-ROM

the learning experience with the users, and made it possible for them to construct their own knowledge regarding the content at hand. (See Fig. 8.1) This approach was

particularly suitable for the educational epistemology driving the development of the work: cognitive constructivism.[2]

From our educational research carried out after the implementation of the program, we learned that such visual media did indeed increase student comprehension and that hypermedia materials provided the proper control of ancillary material to enable students to play an active role in the construction of their own knowledge. Further, it became clear that multimedia materials had a positive impact upon the motivation of the students, which correlated to an improved overall learning experience. Finally, of the numerous additions that hypermedia brought to the teaching process, its effective implementation in the classroom setting fundamentally ensured the success of the treatment.[3] Educationally, we had found new ways of reaching students; however, much of what we had developed was effective only for a general introduction to archaeology and to the site at Isthmia. With this solid beginning, we wanted to do more.

In the end, the hypermedia tool was still primarily a presentation device; and as we began to consider how we might more effectively make use of educational technology to share information concerning the archaeological activity at Isthmia, we began to look to the web for further advances. Although we had developed a website in 1993 and updated it significantly in 1996, by the late 1990s the redesign was already showing its age, and lacked some of the more advanced features we wanted to provide to users. Internet technologies such as the World Wide Web also gave us the ability to publish information quickly. We soon learned that doing so involved a significant commitment, but regular updates to the website were integral to its effectiveness, as they enabled students to see the direction of archaeological inquiry over time. Each year's field season built upon the knowledge gleaned from past years'. Furthermore, the hypertext capabilities of the web gave learners the opportunity to connect content in very individual ways; and if we wanted to provide that capability (which was central to our educational goals), we had to accept the responsibility for updating the content regularly and developing all relevant links. Thus, considerable attention and effort went into building a web presence that could distribute current information with ease, as well as educate effectively.[4] (See Fig. 8.2)

Of particular importance were the dissemination of preliminary reports for each season, and experimenting with ways to deliver access to actual research content, such as excavation notebooks and video of archaeological work and preservation. In implementing this, we were helped by what we had previously learned from our earlier study of the implementation of the hypermedia program. However, we also had the benefit of a better delivery mechanism: with the web, we did not need to worry about CD-ROM distribution or setting up the materials in a computer lab. Anyone with access to the Internet could make use of the content. But this work was still primarily a tool for the presentation of material, and it did not necessarily

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2   Duffy and Jonassen 1991.
3   Fee 1999.
4   Fee and Gregory 2000.

support the active use of research content. For that, we would need to learn from others.

One of the best examples of online research database technology has been created by the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center in southwest Colorado.[5] While the data from these research databases comes from a cultural context significantly different from that of Mediterranean archaeology, the model still serves. Crow Canyon publishes and maintains databases for several individual sites at which
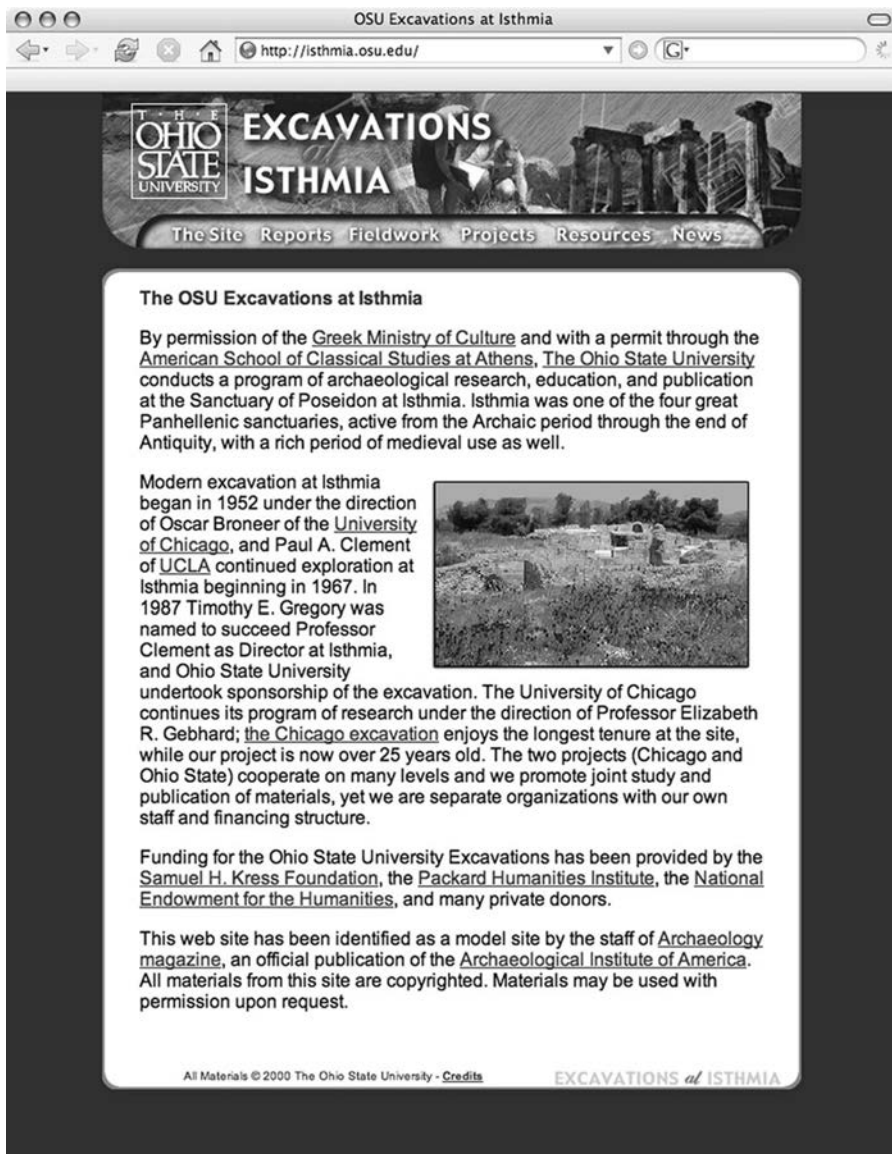
Fig. 8.2   The OSU Excavations at Isthmia Web Site

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5   Crow Canyon Archaeological Center 2006.

Fig. 8.3   Crow Canyon's Castle Rock Pueblo Research Database

it has conducted fieldwork during the past two decades. These databases contain information concerning artifact analysis for various structures, photography, maps, dating information (including tree-ring dating results), and in some instances, even information concerning non-cultural deposits. (See Fig. 8.3)

In addition, each individual site's database contains considerable background information, such as history, physiography, and field methodology, which assists any researcher attempting to make use of the data. Each of these four databases also contains an online report of all the findings. The reports are quite comprehensive,

and include a thorough analysis of the data collected during the field work, as well as an overall interpretation of the research.

But in addition to these individual databases, Crow Canyon also provides a comprehensive research database for the 20 sites in southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah that have been studied by the institution since 1983.[6] This comprehensive database contains searchable indexes of all the sites, enabling researchers to compare data sets, as well as to query site-specific information. Users can also generate tabular information from multiple sites for any comparative data needs, or study data available from any of the sites that constitute the database. The research database is a boon for researchers looking to find information concerning pottery analysis for their own interpretation, and makes the process much more direct. The database also contains detailed instructions for its use, particularly valuable for students seeking to employ the tool for the first time. In addition, the corresponding field manual is an excellent companion to the data, and enables researchers to understand the methodology employed in the field.[7] The forthcoming publication of a laboratory manual can only enhance this ancillary content.

Ready access to all of this information through online databases simply changes the way archaeological research is done. It is much easier to track and search information through the database than through other means; and of course, users can do so from any location, and are no longer tied to a specific fieldwork setting. Nor are researchers any longer limited to working with the data in the laboratory. This flexibility is a great advantage—even greater for a sub-field such as Mediterranean archaeology—where fieldwork is typically constrained by financial resources, and limited by availability of time to work in the field. In this instance, a system that makes the research data available at all times enables research to be conducted regardless of geographical location. It also facilitates collaboration with other scholars from various locales.

But the educational opportunities are even more exciting. With database driven websites, we now have effective ways to engage students in authentic learning activities. In particular, we have new opportunities to create lessons and projects that involve learners in the activities of analysis and interpretation—things that are difficult to do within the limitations of a more traditional curriculum, and within the constraints of standard fieldwork. The creation of situated learning opportunities, incorporating real archaeological data, motivates students positively, since they view such learning experiences as authentic.[8] As archaeology educators, we have always been able to produce fieldwork capable of fostering an excellent understanding of field methodology and data collection. But providing opportunities for analysis and interpretation presents more challenges in working with the data—challenges that these technologies address. Naturally, this type of work is desirable for more advanced students in archaeology, but simpler exercises could be developed for beginners as well. Such endeavors would truly aid new students in their understanding

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6   Crow Canyon Archaeological Center 2003.
7   Crow Canyon Archaeological Center 2001.
8   Lave and Wenger 1991.

of the archaeological process, and represent a significant step forward from simply presenting the material in a new format.

The next great innovation in educating others about the archaeology of the eastern Mediterranean lies in such endeavors. Several projects conducting fieldwork in the area are putting real data online as a means of providing timely publication of research results. This approach shares information with non-affiliated personnel, and makes resources available throughout the year rather than only during the field season. It also serves as an effective and rapid means of publication for maps, photography, and illustration, as well as ancillary or secondary information that might not eventually find its way into an archaeological report. With additional forethought, such programs can further expand their online offerings to promote and expand educational activities as well. However, the existing data provide a compelling *terminus a quo* for educational endeavors as well as archaeological research.

For instance, the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP) provides numerous maps through its website.[9] These are extremely useful in their own right, but for educational instruction, they are particularly valuable for helping students understand various concepts, such as spatial relationships, sampling, and geomorphology. These maps also make clear how archaeological surveys are conducted, and provide a very important understanding for students who may not have the benefit of actual field experience. Overall, this is a welcome addition to the body of knowledge regarding the Eastern Mediterranean.
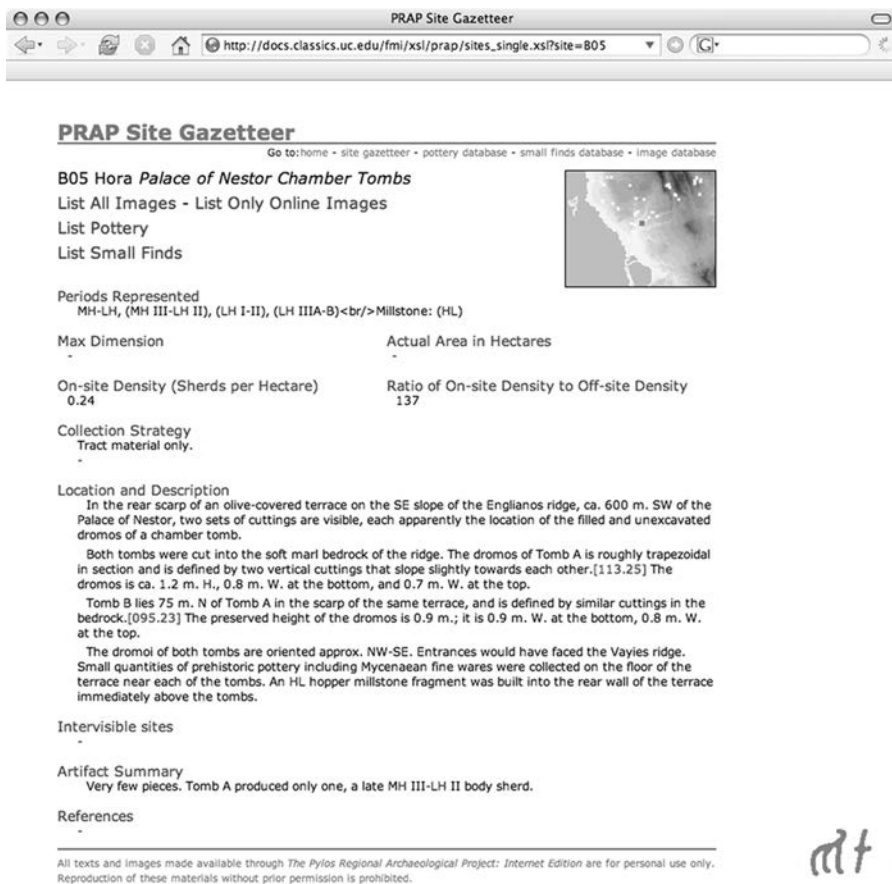
The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP) offers another example of accessible online materials for students and novice users.[10] Of particular import is its comprehensive explanation of the methodology employed. The content is well explained in non-technical terminology easily accessible to students and novices. The clear descriptions of transect survey, special interest areas, and places of special interest, help learners understand how archaeological survey is conducted in the field, thereby aiding their understanding of what the data mean. Further, the explanation of Geographical Information Systems and their associated data facilitates comprehension of the genesis of subsequent maps, and leads to a better understanding of the visual information. Finally, reports organized by time period clarify the interpretation of the data. The actual databases are available for download; however, the interpretive pages—particularly for the special interest areas—provide most of the data necessary for educational use.

Working with the actual data is of utmost importance to any future archaeological researcher, and students of archaeology need to understand data structures and organization as much as stratigraphy and absolute dating techniques. The content published by the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP) serves quite well as an example of effective tools focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean.[11] In addition to general interpretive data, including preliminary reports, abstracts of annual reports, and select publications concerning the work of the program, the Pylos Regional

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9   Nemea Valley Archaeological Project 2000.
10   Sydney Cyprus Survey Project 1999.
11   The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project 1996.

Fig. 8.4   Site Gazetteer Webpage from the Pylos Regional Archaeological
             Project Web Site

Archaeological Project also makes available online databases of pottery, small finds, and images. In addition, the Site Gazetteer section integrates essential descriptions, along with basic information from all the databases. The descriptions also include a series of convenient links to corresponding imagery from the image database. (See Fig. 8.4) These descriptions are particularly helpful for students trying to understand how interpretation brings together this wealth of data to create a reasonable understanding of the archaeology.

So, now that we have all this information available to us as researchers, teachers, and learners, what do we do with it? This question truly reflects where we are today with teaching and learning about archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean. In essence, we finally have enough data online for students and researchers to work

with. These data create exceptional opportunities for active learning,[12] as well as project-based learning.[13] This statement is not only a display of the useless jargon of educational theory. These terms give us a language for identifying the important activities of learning, specifically in regard to working with the online content under discussion. My suggestion to colleagues in the field is that we consider developing active learning opportunities, by creating educational projects specifically to use the data we have collected and made available online. Active learning "involves students in doing things and thinking about the things they are doing," rather than passively listening or absorbing academic content.[14] Thus, working with real archaeological data provides opportunities for active learning that create a very different experience from traditional lectures and reading. Project-based learning organizes education entirely around the involvement of students in the design, process, and culmination of a project. This pedagogical approach consists of two primary components: the problem or question central to the curriculum at hand, and the finished product that addresses that problem or question. The finished project could be a paper, a presentation, or a webpage; the key is to have the students address a specific problem by generating a product of some sort from the relevant data. These educational theories and pedagogical approaches are not untested; significant research has been undertaken to assess their effectiveness.[15] So, by creating such projects (preferably with corresponding lesson plans) and publishing them online for others to use, we can make our data more relevant to the educational process.

Naturally, these approaches are most relevant for adult learners, both undergraduate and graduate students. However, depending on the content and the quality of the corresponding materials, these projects could be applicable to advanced social studies coursework in any high school with some type of archaeology program. We must begin to think of these as educational materials as well as research tools. As professional archaeologists, it is up to us to provide the direction for such educational endeavors; herein lies the future of archaeology education. It began with the simple presentation of material, but has moved on to the more complex realm of educational problem-solving. A large volume of information has been assembled online by projects that study the Late Antique period in the Eastern Mediterranean. Now we need to focus on creating authentic problems to drive student inquiry, and to cultivate those who will become the next generation to work in the field of archaeology.

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12   Bonwell and Eison 1991.
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14   Bonwell and Eison 1991, pp. 2, 68.
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A Decade Later: The Chronotype System Revisited

R. Scott Moore

Abstract

Tim Gregory's interests in survey archaeology and ceramic identification came together in 1996, as he and Nathan Meyers developed the "Chronotype System" for sampling and recording ceramic artifacts. In the ten years since the creation of the system, archaeological survey projects in both Greece and Cyprus have utilized and improved it. While the Chronotype system has proven to be an effective tool of data collection for certain archaeological survey projects, its implementation and development have raised issues concerning sampling, the effectiveness of artifact-level survey, and the relative merits of qualification and quantification.

Introduction

In the mid 1990s, Timothy E. Gregory and Nathan Meyers created the Chronotype system of sampling and recording ceramic artifacts for use on the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP).[1] The original goals of the Chronotype system were: 1) to produce a sample of every unique kind of artifact encountered, while limiting the size of the total collection—thus striking a balance between "total collection" and sampling-only diagnostics; and 2) to create a system of nested ceramic typologies that allowed for a wide range of chronological and functional identifications for each type of artifact, ranging from broad to very precise categories. Since its inception and use by SCSP,[2] other projects in the Mediterranean, such as the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (EKAS),[3] the Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey (APKAS),[4] the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TAESP),[5] and most recently, the Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project (PKAP), have used and refined the Chronotype system.[6]

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1   Meyer 2003, pp. 14–16.
2   Meyer and Gregory 2003, pp. 48–52; SCSP data is available at *The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project: Digital Archive* 2003, http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/projArch/scsp_var_2001/index.cfm?CFID=211204&CFTOKEN=15812366.
3   Tartaron et al. 2006, pp. 475–480.
4   Coroneos et al. 2002, pp. 137–139.
5   Given et al. 2001, pp. 425–440.
6   Caraher et al. 2005, pp. 253–254.

With the recent final publications by SCSP and EKAS, as well as several interim reports by ongoing projects such as PKAP, scholars have begun to evaluate the Chronotype system in an effort to determine both its success in fulfilling its creators' expectations and its unintended consequences as an interpretive paradigm. While the first published evaluations of the Chronotype system demonstrate the effectiveness of its data collection system for these projects, questions and issues remain about its suitability for other projects. These concerns focus on the issues of sampling in general, the effect of walker biases, and the effectiveness of the system in mapping the distribution of material, rather than absolute or estimated total quantities in a survey unit (a predetermined area defined either by its size or by its topographic features). In this article, I begin with a brief description of the Chronotype system, and then address concerns about sampling, artifact-level survey, and the focus on qualitative data, using examples from EKAS, SCSP, and PKAP, the three projects which have well-published results or accessible datasets.

The Chronotype System: Description

The Chronotype system, as implemented in these most recent projects, incorporates two primary elements: a system for classifying and organizing artifacts, and a field collection strategy that gathers data about both the quantity and diversity of artifacts in the survey units. This system is designed for the type of distributional archaeology characteristic of siteless, artifact-level, survey projects, since on a regional level the density of particular classes of artifacts is less important (and less representative of any historical or cultural phenomenon) than their simple presence or absence.

The classification system is a flexible hierarchical system, based on the division of artifacts into groups known as chronotypes. An artifact's chronotype designation is based on its material (shape, fabric, surface treatment, and decoration), function, and date. Understanding that these chronotypes range from the imprecise to the specific allows the analyst to place the artifact into the system as precisely as possible at that moment (in the knowledge that further modification is always possible). The top of the hierarchy includes the broadest chronotypes, such as pottery dating to the Ceramic Age.[7] One step down in the hierarchy are artifacts dated from very broad periods such as "Ancient" or "Ancient-Historic." Still further down are artifacts with more precise period designations (e.g., "Early Hellenistic"). Artifacts are dated as precisely as the physical attributes allow. A Late Roman fineware body sherd, for example, might be classified in a generic category like Fineware, Late Roman; a Late Roman rim sherd could allow for a more precise chronotype identification, such as African Red Slip Ware Form 50 (see Fig. 9.1). Since each chronotype is unique, the system is open-ended, and allows for expansion and refinement as new chronotypes are created by specialists examining the artifacts.[8]

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7   The chronotype system describes all kinds of artifact classes (lithic, ceramic, metal, glass, etc.), although the most common type is ceramic material.

8   Meyer 2003, pp. 14–16.
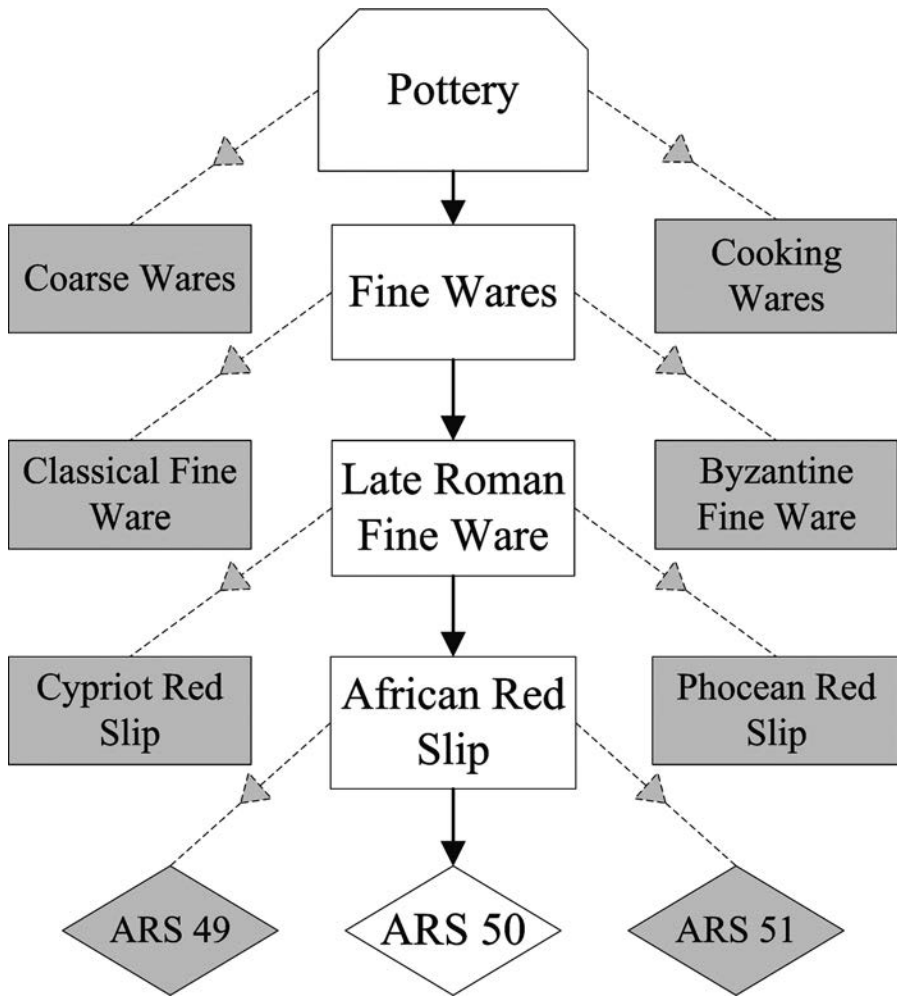
Fig. 9.1   Example of Chronotype Hierarchy

The goal of the field collection method is to find a reasonable compromise between, on the one hand, the impossible task of collecting every artifact (total collection), and on the other, collecting only diagnostic artifacts, thus producing a superficial and fundamentally unrepresentative sample of the material on the surface. The Chronotype system achieves this balance by using total artifact counts to provide information on the relative density of artifacts, and a sampling strategy designed to collect information about the variety of artifacts present. The sampling strategy requires each fieldwalker to count all pottery, but to collect only one example of each artifact, leaving in situ other artifacts that are identical in body part, material, and decoration.[9] A larger number of a specific chronotype at a site, therefore, means two things: 1) this chronotype might typically break into various relatively diagnostic

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9   Tartaron et al. 2006, pp. 475–478.

parts, such as different parts of amphoras, which have lots of body sherds, handle bits, rims, toes (this is easy to correct for in the Chronotype system); and 2) the chronotype has a wide distribution in the survey area appearing in numerous units and in numerous swaths.

Even though this sampling strategy can determine the presence or absence of artifacts or classes of artifacts, it is impossible to estimate the absolute number of a particular chronotype in a given unit. Thus, artifact types do not necessarily form a representative basis for comparison between various units within the survey. This means that the system is useful for locating the presence of a specific ware within the survey, but less helpful in answering research questions that require quantification of absolute numbers. Recent scholarship would seem to justify this relatively conservative approach to collecting artifacts, because the conditions that might produce high pottery counts are quite diverse, ranging from occupation length to population size, or perhaps more commonly, the vagaries of the deposition process.[10] Moreover, absolute pottery counts are rarely meaningful for one-to-one comparison between different projects, since a project's collection method and survey size create absolute pottery counts that usually have no direct relationship to those of other projects. The coarse artifact ratios produced by the Chronotype system, however, do offer a means of comparison between projects.[11]

PKAP Implementation of the Chronotytpe System

To a certain extent, each project tailored the Chronotype system to its own goals, but all had a relatively greater interest in the distribution and variety of material present in the landscape than in the specific quantities of particular types. For instance, in 2004, PKAP implemented the Chronotype system in its large-site survey project on the southern Cypriot coast. PKAP is a diachronic archaeological investigation of an area of 5 km² on the southern coast of Cyprus near the modern village of Pyla. The objective for the initial stage of the survey was to investigate an extensive artifact scatter, covering an area of close to 200,000 m². An artificial grid was created over the survey area by dividing the region into individual survey units of 40 m by 40 m, each such unit comprising 1,600 m². Each unit was then surveyed by four team members who walked parallel lines, or swaths, spaced 10 m apart across the grid square. Individual fieldwalkers were responsible for examining the ground only one meter to their left and one meter to their right, creating a swath that was 40 m long by 2 m wide, or 80 m². This meant that a team of fieldwalkers sampled 20% of the total area of each unit. As individual walkers surveyed their swath, they were responsible for counting all the artifacts that they saw (pottery, tile, lithics, glass, etc.), and bringing back one example of each unique chronotype observed. The ceramicist then parsed this collected ceramic material into batches (groups based on common characteristics such as color, decoration, and part of the vessel) and recorded this information in the project's database.[12]

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10   Chapman 1999, pp. 69–70; Fentress 2000, pp. 44–52.
11   Tartaron et al. 2006, p. 478.
12   Caraher et al. 2005, pp. 250–254.

In addition to the survey collection, PKAP conducted a series of experiments to test our artifact sampling strategy. In 2004 and 2006, we implemented a series of total collection circles, 80 m², or 5% of the 1,600 m² grid squares.[13] These circles were located randomly within a unit, and we instructed the fieldwalkers to survey the area intensively (on hands and knees) and to collect all the artifacts within the limits of the circle that were larger than the fingernail of their little finger. This collection methodology produced a data set that can be used as a comparison to the survey collection, and continued a process of calibration that began with SCSP and EKAS.

Sampling

One of the problems that Mediterranean survey projects typically face is how to document the vast amount of ceramic material they encounter in their survey area.[14] Starting in the 1970s, archaeologists in the Mediterranean began to use sampling techniques as a method of dealing with artifact-rich areas, and the scholarship of artifact-sampling strategies has benefited from the Mediterranean emphasis on siteless, artifact-level distributional survey.[15] The need to sample the landscape initially derived from the need of regional level surveys to explore large areas, in some case tens or even hundreds of square kilometers, for which it would have been impractical in terms of time, manpower, and storage space to collect all the artifacts on the surface. The earliest organizers of regional surveys were in general less interested in collecting artifacts, and more interested in locating sites, so that the utility of collecting so-called "off-site" material remained in doubt.[16] The second wave of Mediterranean survey teams, with their emphasis on "off-site material," began to develop more refined sampling strategies, in order to produce data better able to capture traces of the diversity of settlement and land use in the ancient world. In this context, Tim Gregory and Nathan Meyer felt that the development of the sampling strategy in the Chronotype system would answer SCSP's research questions concerning the location of agricultural villages and industrial sites within a 65 square kilometer survey area in the most efficient manner, and would help define the relationship between these industrial sites and their surrounding agricultural villages.[17]

The sampling strategy in the Chronotype system is efficient because it reduces the expenses and man-power needs of a project to more manageable levels.[18] In SCSP, for example, it became immediately obvious that total collection, and even total coverage, was impossible.[19] The EKAS field-teams analyzed 26% of the 146,599 artifacts they counted.[20] Similarly, during PKAP's field seasons of 2004–2006, the

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13   Caraher et al. 2005, pp. 254–256.
14   Blakely 1988, pp. 32; Fulford 1987, pp. 69–70; Slane 1987.
15   Tartaron 2003, pp. 23–45.
16   McDonald and Rapp 1972; Runnels and van Andel 1987, pp. 303–334.
17   Meyer 2003, pp. 14–16.
18   Gregory 2004, pp. 15–16.
19   Given and Knapp 2003, pp. 25–29.
20   Tartaron et al. 2006, pp. 478–479.

field-teams counted 43,182 ceramic artifacts, but collected only 8,585 artifacts from the 269 units, or 19.8% of the counted artifacts. The result was a significant saving of time and resources, for both the field-teams and the artifact-processing or laboratory teams.

Beyond these obvious logistical advantages of savings in manpower and time, we can make other arguments for the value of the system. First, Gregory has emphasized, from an ethical standpoint, that the sampling and selective collecting of the Chronotype system is a more responsible "low-impact" method than total collection or a more intensive collection strategy: it removes only a small percentage of the total artifacts from the field, and leaves the majority in place to be examined by future archaeologists, who may have more advanced techniques and methods. PKAP, for example, collected only 7.2% of the estimated total artifacts in its survey universe (8,585 out of an estimated 119,465 artifacts), leaving the majority for future examination. Second, some archaeological projects, on account of encroaching development, are faced with short windows of opportunity, and are forced to work quickly. Both of these limitations might in any case be imposed upon archaeological projects by governments.[21] It is important to note, however, that permit restrictions were not the driving force behind the creation of the Chronotype system in Cyprus, and only one project that has used the system to date (EKAS) was limited in such a fashion and not permitted to remove artifacts from survey units.[22]

Despite the logistical and ethical benefits of sampling, Wandsnider and Camilli have put forth the argument that survey methods relying on sampling result in collections biased towards the dominant elements of the surface collection.[23] This concern is echoed by Caraher et al. who also note that, as sample size decreases (because of visibility changes, sampling techniques, etc.), the collected artifacts tend toward the more common artifacts in the soil matrix.[24] This hypothesis suggests that the quantification of smaller samples can distort the chronological view of the landscape because of the proponderance of artifacts from certain periods, or of certain types. The opposite, of course, can also be the case. Projects that collect only diagnostic sherds can easily bias their sample toward highly visible types of artifacts--like Late Roman Coarse ware with highly visible combing or the strikingly colorful imported glazes characteristic of Byzantine finewares.[25]

The opportunity to demonstrate how the use of the Chronotype system can help produce a more representative view of the landscape is provided by recent work on the hypothesis of a rapid increase in Late Roman settlements in the eastern Mediterranean. Site-based surveys using traditional "grab sampling" strategies have contributed to the theory that the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods saw a downturn in the number of habitation sites, followed by a sudden explosion in the number of settlements during the Late Roman period.[26] This theory is based on the substantial

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21 Gregory 2004, pp. 18–19.
22 Tartaron et al. 2006, p. 464.
23 Wandsnider and Camilli 1992, p. 184.
24 Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew 2006, pp. 27–30.
25 Sanders 2004, pp. 164–167.
26 Pettegrew 2007.

numerical difference in the quantities of ceramics discovered, with comparatively few Hellenistic and Early Roman artifacts and an overwhelming abundance of Late Roman artifacts. This profusion of Late Roman material, though, might be attributed to a "source problem of the differential diagnosticity of the pottery from the two periods."[27] In fact, a closer examination of the EKAS data reveals that it was only its more nuanced approach to collecting material that allowed the project to identify the biases present in its ceramic collection. For example, to understand more clearly the changes that occurred between the Early Roman and Late Roman periods, Pettegrew made a comparison of the Early Roman and the Late Roman material on the basis of chronotypes, in an effort to allow for "ceramic visibility" over time. Since the EKAS data was collected using the Chronotype system, he was able to compare both the specific functional classes and the difference in vessel parts between the two periods. These types of analyses showed that the difference between these periods in the EKAS survey area was not as great as had previously been suggested, and in fact, the magnitude of the "Late Roman explosion" was reduced.[28]

PKAP collected data that offers an additional opportunity to evaluate the system's effectiveness, and to see if it satisfactorily answers some of the more persistent criticisms of sampling raised by Wandsnider and others.[29] Since PKAP's total collection circles are a 5% sample of all the artifacts from the the unit, one way to analyze Wandsnider's argument, that sampling is biased towards dominant surface artifacts, is to compare the unique chronotype makeup of the total collection circles to the unique chronotype makeup of the fieldwalking samples from the same units. This comparison of the chronological diversity of the circles with that of the fieldwalking units showed only a small difference, of 5.4 periods per fieldwalking sample versus 5.59 periods per circle.[30] In the total collection sample, the 395 batches (groups based on common characteristics such as color, decoration, and part of the vessel) were represented by 55 unique chronotypes while the 239 batches from the fieldwalking sample were composed of 53 unique chronotypes. The two samples had 35 unique chronotypes in common, and only three of these shared chronotypes differed in quantity between the two samples by more than 3%. The top 15 chronotypes in each sample, based on percentage, and representing 80% of the total batches, had 11 common chronotypes. This similarity in composition suggests that there are no significant differences between the two collection strategies; however, the Chronotype system of collection is spatially more extensive and more efficient.

Artifact-Level Surveying and Fieldwalker Biases

One aspect of the Chronotype system is its focus on artifact level, or siteless survey. A growing trend toward high intensity artifact-level survey has raised concerns that

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27 Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew, 2006, pp. 22.
28 Caraher, Nakssis, and Pettegrew 2006, pp. 22–24; Pettegrew 2007; Tartaron et al. 2006, pp. 482 and 501.
29 Wandsnider and Camilli 1992, pp. 184; Wandsnider 2002, pp. 69–72.
30 Caraher et al. 2007.

perhaps it is less suitable for questions best posed on a regional scale.[31] In particular, this approach has been criticized for its procedural and environmental biases, such as variability in walker competence and variations in surface visibility, either possibly distorting the sample produced by the Chronotype system by causing fieldwalkers to collect duplicate artifacts, an easily correctable issue, or to under-collect artifacts, a much more troubling possibility.

Variation in walker competence, in particular a fieldwalker's experience and ability to recognize artifacts in the soil matrix, might have an impact on the collection of material. Consequently, many survey projects are now trying to monitor and account for this factor in their final analysis. For example, the Durres Regional Archaeological Project (DRAP), an intensive surface survey project in Albania, monitored individual walker counts. An analysis of the data showed that walker variability had a "negligible effect" on their final results. The project established this by dividing each walker's unit counts by the distance they walked, comparing this number to the unit's average density, and creating a score for each walker that represented the average deviation between their individual counts and those of the other walkers. When they examined these scores, it was determined that only five out of fifteen walkers deviated from the average by more than one standard deviation, and only one deviated from the average by more than two standard deviations.[32] SCSP also tried to account for walker variability and conducted a series of controlled survey experiments, demonstrating that the variation between fieldteams was never more than 20%. Even a fieldteam composed of experienced senior staff members did not significantly outperform less-experienced teams.[33]

By monitoring the walkers' performance in general, we can develop several useful metrics for measuring their overall consistency and competence. This will allow us to argue that walker ability is sufficiently constant over the course of a survey to produce predictable results, which can then be interpreted in a consistent way. An examination of the artifact counts for PKAP's individual walkers, undertaken in order to determine whether any one walker or group of walkers substantially outperformed another, revealed very similar results to the examinations undertaken by DRAP and SCSP. When we applied the DRAP method of walker analysis to PKAP's data, (the creation of a score for each walker representing the average deviation between their individual counts and the other walkers), we discovered comparable results: only four of PKAP's fifteen walkers deviated from this average by more than one standard deviation and only one deviated by more than two standard deviations. Even though this analysis suggests that variations between walkers had little or no impact on total artifact counts and shows consistency among the walkers, since the Chronotype system also includes walkers collecting what they perceive to be unique artifacts, it raises the question of whether the Chronotype system requires fieldwalkers trained in ceramic recognition if they are to identify accurately, and to collect a representative example of each type of sherd.

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31   Blanton 2001, pp. 627–629; Caraher, Nakssis, and Pettegrew 2006, pp. 7–8.
32   Davis et al. 2003, pp. 54–55.
33   Meyer and Schon 2003, pp. 52–57.

There are several ways to determine if fieldwalkers are collecting duplicate artifacts when using the Chronotype system. One way to determine walker bias is to examine the pottery grouped by the ceramicist into batches (groups based on common characteristics such as color, decoration, and part of the vessel). Since there are four fieldwalkers in each unit, if the final batches consist of more than four pieces, this would indicate that they are collecting redundant artifacts in the field. While examining the data in this fashion cannot account for one or two over-collecting fieldwalkers, it can provide a general measurement of the overall efficiency of the system. During three field seasons, PKAP fieldwalkers collected 8,585 sherds divided by the ceramicists into 4,742 batches. Out of these, only 314 batches (or 6.62%) contained more than four sherds. There was only one artifact in 71% of the batches, while 93% contained fewer than four. The fact that the overwhelming majority of batches contained fewer than four items supports the theory that the walkers were not over-collecting. A comparison of the number of batches in a unit to the total sherds counted in the unit reveals a strong positive correlation ($r = .822$), further evidence that the fieldwalkers are not collecting duplicate artifacts. If the walkers were over-collecting particular wares, then when the number of sherds in a unit increased, the number of batches would remain low, or increase at a much lower rate. The results suggest that individual fieldwalkers are not collecting multiple examples of the same unique chronotype.

This is also suggested by an examination of the number of sherds collected in a unit, compared to the number of sherds counted in the unit. A simple statistical analysis reveals a moderate correlation ($r = .647$) between the total number of sherds counted in a unit and the total number of sherds collected in that unit. The overall correlation of all units obscures what appears to be a series of distinct thresholds occurring at various sherd count levels. When we analyze units with a sherd count of less than 50 ($n = 168$), a highly significant and strongly positive correlation ($r = .949$) emerges between the total sherds counted and the total sherds collected.[34] An examination of units with a total sherd count greater than 50, but less than 100 ($n = 37$), reveals a very low positive correlation ($r = .352$). Additionally, the analysis of units with a total sherd count greater than 100 ($n = 68$) shows a moderate positive correlation ($r = .650$) between the number counted and the number collected. These numbers would seem to support the position that the fieldwalkers were not gathering sherds indiscriminately, but were selective in their collecting. For units with less than 50 sherds counted, however, fieldwalkers generally collected a greater percentage of the sherds they saw. For units with a total sherd count greater than 100, the numbers would seem to indicate that the field walkers were less selective, but the large sherd numbers would make it correspondingly more difficult for walkers to select only one representative sample for each unique ware. It might also suggest that higher

34   Correlation, signified by (r), is a quantitative measure of the degree of correspondence between two or more variables, and is measured from -1.0 to +1.0. The closer the absolute value of (r) is to 1 the stronger the relationship, while values closer to zero indicate a weaker relationship. A positive correlation indicates that, as values of one variable increase, the values of the other variable also increase. A negative correlation indicates that, as values of one variable increase, the values of the other variable decrease.

density units have a greater diversity of chronotypes.[35] While the general trend is clear, it is interesting to note that, in some environments, the walkers seem to have over-collected.

While the various analyses of the PKAP data support the argument that its fieldwalkers did not over-collect, an analysis of the EKAS data, however, does suggest over-collection by its fieldwalkers. This argument rests on an examination of chronotype-to-walker swath ratios. Since the overwhelming majority of the sherds collected during the EKAS survey were body sherds, Tartaron et al. argue that their fieldwalkers' chronotype-to-swath ratio should be close to one if they were not over-collecting. However, for eight of the fifteen most frequent chronotypes, the chronotype to walker ratio exceeded the value of one.[36] This is in contrast to the PKAP chronotype-to-walker ratio, in which only two of the fifteen most frequent chronotypes exceeded one. One possible explanation for this difference might be in the ceramic processing, because PKAP had only one ceramicist working with washed pottery, while EKAS relied on the analysis of unwashed pottery by ceramicists in the field.[37] Since the ceramicist for PKAP was evaluating cleaned pottery, it would have been easier for him to "outperform" the fieldwalkers, and parse the material into more chronotypes, by identifying differences not visible on the unwashed pottery, and compensating in a way for over-collection by the fieldwalkers. EKAS ceramicists, in contrast, might find it more difficult to "outperform" fieldwalkers since the pottery would be read largely in the same condition as it was collected from the field. This calculation of chronotype-to-walker ratio does not account for batching by vessel part, and therefore some chronotypes might average more than one artifact per walker per swath without reflecting over-collecting on the part of the walker. This analysis, so far, has revealed that walker discernment levels seemed high, and their performance consistent. Since the numerical ratios for PKAP are significantly lower than those for EKAS, however, it raises the question of whether PKAP fieldwalkers were under-collecting.

One way to check for under-collecting is through the information available from the total collection circles. When comparing the 2,969 sherds from the total collection circles (n=10) with the survey pottery from the same unit, identical wares are present in both. In fact, in the units with lower survey pottery counts (<20), the types of wares were exactly the same. In units with larger survey pottery counts (>50), there were wares present in the total collection circles that were not present in the survey collection, and vice versa. Since the walkers gathered the pottery in the survey collection from an area four times larger than the total collection circle (320 m² versus 80 m²), it is not surprising that wares present in the survey collection were not present in the total collection circle. Moreover, an examination of the missing wares shows that they are very small finewares, probably missed on procedural grounds (they were extremely small), rather than because of chronotype sampling strategy.

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35   Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew 2006, pp. 29–30.
36   Tartaron et al. 2006, pp. 479–481.
37   Tartaron et al. 2006, pp. 465–466.

Another method of investigating under-collecting is through an examination of the "richness" or diversity of the assemblage collected.[38] As the number of sherds collected increases, typically the diversity of the material also increases. Therefore, a positive correlation between the number of sherds collected and the number of unique chronotypes would be expected within each unit.[39] In fact, a comparison of the number of chronotypes in each unit with the total number of sherds counted in that unit results in a positive correlation of .760. This indicates that, as the total number of sherds counted increased, the number of unique chronotypes collected also increased. When the number of chronotypes in each total collection circle is compared with the total sherds collected in each circle, however, the result was a positive correlation of .911, a much stronger correlation. The data show that, for the total collection circles, 83% of the variability (R^2) in the number of unique chronotypes observed can be explained by the quantity of sherds collected in that circle, whereas for the survey unit, only 58% of this variability could be thus explained.[40] This difference between the fieldwalking samples and the total collection circles might be caused by under-collection, but might also be caused by other factors, such as location, visibility, or the small number of total collection circles. One way to control for some of these variables is to examine only units that had both a total collection circle and a fieldwalking sample. A paired samples *t*-test comparing means of the ratio of unique chronotypes collected to the total sherds counted between the two groups shows no significant difference (p = .368) across these units.[41] In fact there is a strong positive correlation (r = .811) between the total collection circles and the fieldwalking samples, which indicates that, in relation to the total number of sherds counted, fieldwalkers were collecting a similar number of unique chronotypes.

The analysis of the PKAP data strongly suggests that its fieldwalkers, despite their level of experience, were remarkably consistent in their artifact collection, and as a group were neither over-collecting nor under-collecting. While it is impossible to determine from the data if individual walkers were correctly recognizing and collecting unique chronotypes, there are clear indications that they were implementing the system as it was intended. The disparity between the PKAP and EKAS data, however, highlights the importance of further work to isolate how multiple variables, ranging from marginal or isolated land, post-depositional processes like geomorphology, to surface visibility and background confusion, affect a fieldwalker's ability to adhere to the collection paradigm.

Qualification versus Quantification

One of the primary advantages of the Chronotype system is the use of nested typologies. This descriptive system groups similar sherds together in batches, and

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38 Grayson 1998, pp. 927–928.
39 Plog and Hegmon 1993, pp. 489–490.
40 The percent variability (R^2) is computed by squaring the correlation (r).
41 A paired samples *t*-test is a statistical test used to compare means when a subject is repeatedly measured, and was chosen because the collection areas in the unit overlapped. The letter (p) designates the level of significance.

assigns them a category as specific as possible at the initial analysis. This descriptive category or chronotype ensures that each ceramic artifact contains both chronological and functional information that can be used in various ways to further a project's analyses.[42] For PKAP, we used the Chronotype system because we believed that quantitative data from our site was meaningless, and the distribution and variety of material was crucial to understanding the chronological and functional complexity of this stretch of coastline. Rather than collecting meaningless, redundant data, we collected samples that not only preserved the assemblage on the surface (as much as possible), but provided us with the specific information that we required to answer our research questions.

While the Chronotype system organizes and analyzes the collected ceramic data well, one concern is that the data may be inaccurate, since the system relies on collecting representative artifacts and is not a total collection. This results in "lost data," because duplicate artifacts are deliberately not collected. It is important to stress that this system incorporates both total artifact counts and representative sampling, which allows quantification of both general artifact classes and specific wares. While it does not allow for quantitative analyses of the total number of artifacts in a class, it does allow for quantitative analyses of artifact classes.[43] By collecting representative samples only, the system eliminates redundant ceramic data, but still preserves the variety of artifacts present, and while not as precise as the numbers from a total collection survey, still generates accurate artifact ratios between chronotypes.[44] Even relatively broad categories, such as Coarseware, Late Roman, and Kitchen Ware Roman can be used to help identify usage patterns locally. The use of similar nomenclature and data structure will allow comparison of data sets between projects to identify patterns on a trans-regional or global level. The ability to make these comparisons will be enhanced as data sets from excavations and older surveys are put into a database using chronotype terminology.

Conclusion

In the ten years since its inception, several different survey projects in the Mediterranean have utilized the Chronotype system. An examination of the system and its usage, based mainly on data from the Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project, shows that it suited the project's goals admirably, efficiently, and with minimal damage to the archaeological record. While it offers savings in time and manpower, it is dependent on the ability of the project's team members to adhere to its collecting strategy. The evidence of the PKAP survey suggests that fieldwalkers, even with no previous practical archaeological experience, are able to implement the system successfully and to select sherds in the field according to the system's guidelines. Its flexible nature also allows for both refinement and correction to its data, and these should be goals for all future survey projects. While the trend in survey archaeology has been toward greater coverage and more intensive collection, there are have various factors

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42   Kardulias 2002, pp. 483–484.
43   Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew 2006, p. 13.
44   Tartaron et al. 2006, pp. 477–478.

(geography, size of area, funding, government imposed limitations, and manpower) that large site surveys and regional surveys need to consider when deciding on the methodology that can best allow them to answer their research questions.

In summary, this examination of the Chronotype system, particularly in its current PKAP incarnation, has demonstrated that it is easy to implement, even with inexperienced fieldwalkers, and that its collection strategy and labeling strategy function accurately, in the manner that Tim Gregory and Nathan Meyer initially intended. Despite this success, the Chronotype system is an experimental system which, while it has performed well, still needs to undergo further evaluation and examination. The forthcoming PKAP monograph will include a discussion of its use of the Chronotype system, which will make a significant contribution to this discussion. It is to be hoped that more projects will also find that the Chronotype system can be an effective tool for answering their research questions and implement this system in the future, thus allowing a better evaluation of its benefits.

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PART III
The Archaeology of Identity

Lesbos in Late Antiquity: Live Evidence and New Models for Religious Change

Anthony Kaldellis

Abstract

The archaeology of Byzantine Lesbos is largely unexplored. This paper will draw upon an unpublished survey of Early Christian monuments, as well as upon textual sources, to show that conversion began late, but then proceeded with great intensity. The high number of early churches (over 60) is perhaps without parallel in Greece, but may be the result of heretical division (many of the known bishops were non-orthodox) as well as to the persistence of paganism, the rites of which were finally just absorbed by the Church, especially in the northern part of the island. Stress will be placed on the survival of pagan customs to this day.

The story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos anticipates modern science fiction. Seven Christians fall into a deep slumber in a cave during the persecution by the Emperor Decius (A.D. 249–251), and do not emerge again until two centuries later, in the reign of Theodosius II (A.D. 408–450), at which time they find their city openly and joyously Christian. The tale is designed to stimulate reflection on all that had changed in the meantime, and is a mental experiment that much scholarship on religious change in Late Antiquity has attempted to replicate (one historian has even wished that he *was* one of the Sleepers).[1] Obviously, much changed between 250 and 450: Ephesos was now crowded with churches, and the emperor was a Christian, his court attended by legions of bishops and monks. Some other things, however, had not changed: Proklos was still paying his devotions to the statue of Athena in the Parthenon, a functioning pagan temple. Had the Sleepers awoken in Athens, they might not have noticed the passage of centuries. On the other hand, Markos, a saint from Athens, who around the same time lived in an Ethiopian cave for about a century with no human contact, pointedly commented on how "Hellenism" had been abolished in his native city, and replaced with "piety," at least "openly."[2]

To reconstruct the experience of that change, historians rely on surviving evidence, which is mostly literary and archaeological, and usually indirect. The results of modern research, however, do not always bear out the triumphant narrative of the Sleepers' tale. The transition from paganism to Christianity did not occur everywhere at the same pace or in the same way. Competing models for "continuity"

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1   Brown 1993, p. 1.
2   Angelidi 1989, pp. 33–59, esp. 51.

and "change" are based on different portions of the evidence or different readings of it, which endorse a variety of stories, from Christian triumphalism to pagan survival, from persecution to fusion, and from separation to accommodation and assimilation.[3] The result is that now we cannot confidently talk about "Christianity" and "paganism," or even "continuity" and "change," as though we knew exactly what those words mean in the diversity of religious, social, cultural, and literary experience reflected in our sources, experience that then has to be refracted through the specific exigencies of location and era.

This paper will add a new voice to this debate, one, in fact, that can still be heard on the island of Lesbos but has not yet become the basis for any of the "models" used by scholars. When I say it can still be heard, I mean that, in some ways, Late Antiquity is still alive on Lesbos, so this voice is not exactly new; it is very old. To hear it, one need not travel through time, or spend centuries in a cave. One has only to spend some time there, walking the hills and talking to the people, to conclude, first, that here the transition from paganism to Christianity happened later than elsewhere (later even than the time of the Sleepers' awakening); that it took place without major ruptures or upheavals (in fact, in some ways it proceeded so mildly that it was probably not even noticed by many); and that it is still with us, although it is unclear how much longer it will last. I will offer some examples of the last point, which I will then try to explain by looking at the literary and archaeological evidence for Lesbos in Late Antiquity.[4]

Fig. 10.1   Bull procession before the sacrifice in the village of Pege (photo by author).

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3   Gregory 1986, pp. 229–242; Trombley 2003; Brown 2004, pp. 106–107.

4   For Lesbos in Late Antiquity, see Kaldellis 2002. For a study of the Dodecanese islands in the same period, see now Deligiannakis 2006.

The best place to begin are the bull sacrifices that take place in many villages in the central and northern parts of the island. They are the best place to begin, because animal sacrifices are supposed to have been the "core" of paganism: if Christianity changed anything about religious life, it is supposed to have been this. But what we have here is clearly a continuation of an ancient practice, in a more or less intact form. A large bull is donated by a local patron, or purchased by the village association in charge of the *panêgyris*. It is garlanded and paraded around and through the village, preceded by a small band playing mostly wind instruments. (The bulls I have seen were massive and sometimes skittish animals that could toss their handlers with a jerk of the head; they were slobbering and apparently drugged, making me wonder how they were handled in antiquity.) In the evening, the bull is led to the saint's shrine outside the village, killed, cooked, and eaten. The festivities include dances and horse races (feats of horsemanship are performed during the parade too, often on horses that are not fully broken). It is important to emphasize that these events are not recent inventions made to look like ancient sacrifices for the benefit of tourists. For one thing, they are attested before the tourist trade, in fact before Lesbos became part of the Greek state (1912–1913). They are part of the festival life of the villages, and are not performed for the gaze of outsiders, who rarely attend. (As far as I know, these sacrifices do not draw many tourists.) When I speak to villagers, I do not have the sense that they feel they are being watched, as a dance-group does that "performs tradition" for visitors; it is something that they do for themselves, that they have always done (probably since the end of the Bronze Age, ca. 1200 B.C.).[5]

Other religious customs survive from Antiquity, such as the habit of tying ribbons or strips of cloth to a designated tree (which is sometimes near a chapel, but not in competition with it). The binding represents a wish, often for good health, but can verge into becoming a binding spell. It is also specifically prohibited in the *Theodosian Code*.[6] I have heard of priests cutting down such trees to prevent their flock from engaging in basically un-Christian behavior, only to have the practice re-established on an adjacent tree. But such reactions are, it seems, very rare.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, it was common for ethnographers to observe these survivals, and to draw conclusions about the fundamentally pagan nature of Christianity; the immutability of Greek practices; or about continuity from Antiquity, whether cultural, religious, or national. Current scholarship is generally (and rightly) uninterested in such conclusions, but it has rejected them at the cost of ignoring the evidence on which they are based. Perhaps the time has now come for historians of Late Antiquity to reintegrate this material and engage with the disciplines under which it falls, though its analysis must be guided by theoretical advances in the understanding of culture as a subjective process of continuous appropriation and reinterpretation, i.e., reception.

Possibilities may reopen here for modern folklore and ethnography to contribute to the study of Late Antiquity, which so far has preferred archaeological and textual evidence, and has shunned the perspective of what are perhaps perceived as less

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5   In general, see Vryonis 1972, pp. 151–176; Lesbos: Green 1989, pp. 45–62, here at p. 61; Kaldellis 2002, pp. 179–181.

6   *Theodosian Code* 16.10.12; Kamara 2000, pp. 62–63.

"classical" disciplines.[7] But the fact remains that practices identified as plausibly ancient must somehow have squeezed through the religious bottleneck of Late Antiquity, to survive into the new Christian world of Byzantium and beyond. Certainly they were transformed in the process, as they had to generate and perform social meaning in a changed cultural and religious context. The emphasis here is as much on change as it is on continuity. For example, the bull sacrifices, previously offered to the ancient gods, were rededicated to Christian saints; if those saints were, say, martyrs, any event in their honor could easily became an occasion for celebrating the triumph of Christianity over the pagans ("Hellenes"). What to *us* seems like pagan continuity might, then, have seemed to our subjects (say, in the Byzantine period) to be the exact opposite. This was Christianity, not paganism, despite appearances. There was no "hidden religion" lurking in these rituals.[8]

Likewise, the diachronic use of architectural *spolia*—the reuse of elements from pagan temples in the churches of Late Antiquity, a period of self-conscious religious transition—should be interpreted differently from the persistent modern reuse of elements from Early Christian basilicas in chapels, when questions of archaeological appropriation and national continuity create a very different ideological context in an environment of relative religious stability (at least compared to that of Late Antiquity).[9] So, we see what we see, but that is not enough because its cultural *interpretation* has become a far more complicated matter than it was one hundred years ago.

In some respects, continuity is undeniable, and it is pointless to deny it simply to irk nationalist ideologies. In the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, Lesbos was not much affected by population transfers. It was raided by Arabs, Turks, Venetians, and others, but raids did not affect its demography. Occasionally, garrisons were settled there by the island's masters (Byzantine, Genoese, and Turkish), but at no point did the island have to be "resettled."[10] The Turkish and "Roman" (i.e., Greek) communities during the later period retained very distinct identities, and what was left of the former had departed from the island by the beginning of the 20th century. On a different but parallel front, linguists have argued that the distinctive idiom of some of the villages (which is almost incomprehensible to an Athenian, at least at first) preserves the phonetic patterns of the ancient Aeolian dialect.[11]

While we are on the topic of linguistic stability, let us return to Late Antiquity for another fascinating piece of evidence. As is well known, in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries the emperor Diocletian and his successors instituted a new tax system

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7   One seldom sees ethnographic/ anthropological studies cited in scholarship on Late Antiquity, e.g., Alexiou 1974; Stewart 1991. We are in need of a modern, critical, and comprehensive evaluation of the thesis of Lawson 1910. Trombley 1993 generally supports this line of argument, but is unsystematic on this question.

8   Arnold 2005, p. 115.

9   For the use of *spolia* in Late Antiquity and Byzantium, see Saradi 1997; Kiilerich 2006. I am not aware of studies of this practice in modern Greece.

10   There is yet no proper historical study of Lesbos after A.D. 600; see the encyclopedic entries in Koder 1998. S. Efthymiades (Open University of Cyprus) and I have completed a comprehensive prosopography for the period A.D. 284–1355.

11   Kriaras 1993, pp. 303–310.

that required property-owners to declare their assets. For reasons that are not clear, some of them did so in large stone inscriptions, itemizing their villages, fields, and gardens by name. As it happens, some of these inscriptions were found on Lesbos, and include many place-names that survive today. Obviously, *Pyrgion* and *Kome* can establish little for they are common in every age, but many distinctive names have changed little or not at all, especially in the region of Gera (ancient Hiera), for example *Makriniana*/ Makriana; *Mesos Agros*/ Mesagros; *Patrikou*/ Patrikou; *Skopelos*/ Skopelos; and *Sykounta*/ Sykounta. We may conclude with confidence that these names have remained in use in the villages without much change from the age of Diocletian to this day.[12] And why not? Again, it is important to emphasize that these are not artificial "classicisms" invented and imposed by the modern state, which since its inception has been giving Classical names to cities and villages throughout Greece, in an effort literally to wipe foreign elements off the map. The names in question are attested in travel books and in local documents from before the time that Lesbos became part of the Greek state, while the inscriptions were found after the names are first attested. (The opposite scenario might work as follows: There is a village on the island's eastern coast named Aigeiros, which is also found in Strabo.[13] But it is likely that the villagers adopted this name in the late 19th century when a visiting archaeologist, with a copy of Strabo in his hand, and the "site" that he had discovered before him, authoritatively told them what their village was called in antiquity.)

To return to our main period of interest, consider also the continuity of sacred sites. In Late Antiquity, many churches were built on the sites of ancient temples, but what did this mean for those who were involved? Did it represent the triumph of Christianity over paganism, or a sense of continuity with the past that enabled the smooth succession of, say, civic pride or religious function in specific sites (e.g., healing)? It is likely that both were in play, as in the case of the Christian Parthenon, which was hailed by some in Byzantium as a victory over the false Parthenos (Athena) by the true Mother of God, and by others as an indication that Antiquity had anticipated Christianity in some respects.[14] But our evidence is too meager to recreate an ideological context of this kind for other monuments. All we can say is that it makes a difference whether the temple was deliberately demolished or abandoned to the elements and not replaced until much later,[15] or whether its architecture was substantially altered (e.g., the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias),[16] or hardly altered at all (e.g., the Parthenon, Erechtheion, and Hephaisteion at Athens). It also makes a difference whether key functions of the temple were usurped by its Christian successor, as seems to have happened at the Asklepieion at Athens, which would

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12 Kaldellis 2001, pp. 61–72, citing sources and previous bibliography. For Gera/Hiera, see Kaldellis 2002, pp. 221–223.

13 Str. 13.2.2; cf. Kaldellis 2002, p. 45 for bibliography.

14 Kaldellis 2008.

15 Speiser 1976, pp. 309–320.

16 Cormack 1990, pp. 75–88.

indicate that the church was trying to absorb the temple's function and clientele even after a violent takeover.[17]

Fig. 10.2   Site at Messa. On the foundations of the Hellenistic temple, one can see the apse of the Early Christian basilica and the remains of the middle Byzantine church that succeeded it (photo by author).

On Lesbos, at least two, and possibly three Early Christian churches had a pagan prehistory. A Christian basilica was built directly on the site, using the materials of the important temple of Dionysos Bressaios, located on the tip of the promontory of Agios Phokas.[18] Also, according to the reports of the excavators of 1931, the remains of a Doric temple were found beneath the basilica church of Agios Andreas at Eresos (but then they were destroyed, so this cannot now be confirmed).[19] Most famously, a basilica was built directly on top of the most important ancient temple on the island, that at Messa in the very middle of the island (whence the name). The version of the temple that it replaced dated to Early Hellenistic times, and had served as the headquarters of the federation of Lesbos' cities.[20] Its history can be pushed far into the past and far into the future. The Hellenistic temple had most probably been built on the island's most sacred site, celebrated in poems by Sappho, according to whom it had been founded by Agamemnon and Menelaos on their way back from Troy,

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17   Gregory 2001, pp. 237–239.

18   Kaldellis 2002, p. 175, citing the archaeological reports.

19   Laskaris 1959, pp. 67–74, here at pp. 71–72.

20   Plommer 1981, pp. 177–186. For Hellenistic Lesbos and the federation, see Labarre 1996, esp. pp. 42–50.

and by Alkaios, who spent some of his time in exile there.[21] In the other direction, the early basilica was replaced, probably in the 12th century, with a smaller chapel that likewise sat atop the temple's platform. The chapel was noted by the bishop of Methymna in the early 17th century, Gabriel Soumaroupa, who wrote a description of his diocese. He says it was dedicated to St. Michael, so the same was probably true of the Early Christian basilica that it had replaced. It was also believed, he adds, that St. Paul killed a dragon there, which would not let people pass. This story had been told two centuries earlier by the Florentine traveler Cristophoro Buondelmonti, though he did not specifically localize it at Messa in his brief notice on Lesbos.[22] Be that as it may, Messa today is a well-kept archaeological site (excavated in the late 19th century by Robert Koldeway, the future excavator of Babylon). One can most clearly see the strata there, and imagine the "layers" of the island's religious history, from the end of the Bronze Age to ca. A.D. 1700.

Fig. 10.3   Sarcophagus of a 5th century missionary at Lafiona near Methymna. The Early Christian church it was placed in was still in use in the 16th century (photo by author)

We should not be amazed at this longevity, not after everything else that we have seen. Gabriel attests to the survival of another early basilica in an idyllic fold of the mountain near the village of Lafiona, which had been taken over by Dervishes before his arrival at Methymna, but which had apparently survived intact from an architectural point of view since ca. 500, and was still being used in ca. 1600. By the time of our next witness, in the 19th century, the place was a ruin (and was

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21   West 1993, pp. 37–38, 54.
22   Fountoulis 1993, p. 27; cf. Buondelmonti 1978, p. 29.

excavated, poorly and without being published, in 1971–1972).[23] This church is interesting because it takes us right back to the Christianization of the northern parts of the island in Late, and probably late Late, Antiquity. There is a sarcophagus there with an inscription on it honoring an anonymous "preacher of the Trinity" and "guardian of virginity." This man had certainly been involved in the conversion of the villages of the region. His memory was revered there into modern times, even after his sarcophagus was removed from the church by the Dervishes, as Gabriel attests (and gives a correct reading of the inscription). Liturgical hymns in his honor survive from the 14th and 15th centuries, at which time he seems have been confused with St. Alexandros of Alexandria, the opponent of the heretic Areios. It is likely that he had dedicated the church near Lafiona to that saint, and had come to be identified with him during the next millennium, a mistake facilitated by the anonymity of the inscription. Ironically, it was not until modern times that the history of the place was distorted beyond recognition by pious antiquarians, who invented local saints and invoked "historical science." An entirely fictitious Alexandros was invented, a bishop for Methymna centuries before that city was even a see; monasteries, it is also said, were founded by him, centuries before there were monasteries on Lesbos. Prominent signs have been put up on the main road broadcasting these pious fictions. The tradition, it turns out, was preserved more accurately and with more respect in Byzantium than it is today.[24]

On Lesbos, then, we can still *see*, or at least glimpse Late Antiquity, and the only "excavation" needed in most cases is a genealogy of current cultural practices. Let us now go back to Late Antiquity itself, and try to make sense of what happened (what, in some cases, is still happening there). First, it seems that, like much of the mainland and unlike the cities of Asia Minor, Lesbos embraced Christianity late, later than the Seven Sleepers. Other than St. Paul's overnight stay (in Acts 20.14–15), there is no evidence for a Christian community before the middle of the 4th century. None of the (very many) early churches has been dated to before ca. 400 (see below). Our anonymous missionary was active in the north, probably in the 5th century. The situation on the island toward the end of that century is exemplified by the brothers Zenodotos and Isidoros, whom Zacharias (who later became, by coincidence, the bishop of Mytilene) met in Alexandria as a student: one was a pagan, the other a zealous Christian.[25] The story of the Sleepers would have to be shifted down by a century to work effectively on Lesbos.

What clinches our supposition is the late creation of a see for Methymna around 500, whereas earlier the entire island, including neighboring islands such as Tenedos, were under the jurisdiction of a bishop based in Mytilene. This creation was probably necessitated by the increase in the Christian population. Not coincidentally, it is in those regions of the island where the bull sacrifices survive. The population there was probably showing meager signs of "genuine conversion," and so the Church decided to accept them all with only a nominal change (the god, for example, was

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23 Fountoulis 1993, pp. 32–33.
24 For a detailed analysis, see Kaldellis 2002, pp. 195–218.
25 Zacharias, *Life of Severus* (Kugener 1903, pp. 1–115, here at pp. 23–26, 37). For the events, see Trombley 1993, pp. 1–20.

replaced with a saint), but without interfering in their rites, in the hope that they would eventually "come around." This is not a fanciful reconstruction. Exactly such a strategy was suggested by Pope Gregorius I ("the Great") to the missionaries whom he sent to England (ca. 600):

> The idol temples of that race should by no means be destroyed, but only the idols in them. Take holy water and sprinkle it in these shrines, build altars and place relics in them. For if the shrines are well built, it is essential that they should be changed from the worship of devils to the service of the true God. When this people see that their shrines are not destroyed they will be able to banish error from their hearts and be more ready to come to the places they are familiar with, but now recognizing and worshipping the true God. And because they are in the habit of slaughtering much cattle as sacrifices to devils, some solemnity ought to be given them in exchange for this … Do not let them sacrifice animals to the devil, but let them slaughter animals for their own food to the praise of God … Thus while some outward rejoicings are preserved, they will be able more easily to share in inwards rejoicings.[26]

If a hard-liner like Gregorius could make such concessions in theory (and in violation of imperial legislation banning sacrifice on pain of death), we must imagine that evangelists on the ground must have made more, in the name of finally consummating the conversion of the world. "Inner change" would come in time, even if it meant the "survival" of pagan "forms."

If Christianization occurred late, it also seems to have occurred rapidly once it really picked up, for we face an apparently paradoxical situation on Lesbos: the survival of pagan forms, and the signs of late Christianization overall, must be offset against the huge number of early churches built between the 5th and the 7th centuries. It is too early to give an exact figure, but it can be measured in the dozens, perhaps 60 or 70 or so, or more. It is in this context that we must lament the near total absence of systematic archaeological survey and excavation on Lesbos. W. Lamb excavated the Prehistoric site at Thermi over 70 years ago, and the Archaeological Service has now seen fit to re-excavate it. Past authorities on Lesbos—including some of the big names of Greek archaeology, such as A. Orlandos and S. Charitonides—had quickly excavated about half a dozen of the Early Christian basilicas, while local initiatives were responsible for the very hasty excavation of another half dozen or so, with no attendant publication. Charitonides drew up a preliminary list of Early Christian sites, which I have corrected and expanded by personal autopsy to hundreds of pages that include every site and architectural element, even if subsequently incorporated into a later chapel (this is how most of them survive). This unpublished catalogue (in Greek, with detailed instructions on how to find each site) covers about 3/5 of the island's surface (the far west is excluded). One of its most promising (albeit preliminary) conclusions was the extensive evidence for Late Antique settlement in close association with the country basilicas and chapels. There is no doubt that when more attention is paid to this evidence by professional archaeologists using

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26 Beda, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* 1.30.

new critical methods, Lesbos will emerge as a key player in the current debate over demography and settlement expansion in Late Antiquity.[27]

Let us return to the paradox that we outlined above, between late conversion and the large number of churches. It may be resolved in two ways, which work together, but for the first no local evidence can be offered; it is only a plausible model. The population of the island, beginning with the elite, who were active in the "internationalized" empire, and must have known what was happening elsewhere, especially in the centers of power, decided that their own cities and villages had to catch up with what must at some point have come to seem as inevitable. This action introduced a phase of rapid, if initially only superficial Christianization, allowing many ancient practices to survive, but resulting in a plethora of churches in the cities and countryside. This model for Christianization does not rely on miracles or violent bishops and monks, and is parallel in some ways to what happened at Athens. I intend to argue elsewhere that "Christianity" did not replace "paganism" there, nor did creatures known as "the Christians" defeat "the pagans." Rather, toward the end of the 5th century (though possibly later), the city council, consisting not only of pagans, but also of Christians who respected Classical culture for personal reasons, and also because of its centrality to the pride, reputation, and revenues of their city, decided collectively to make the transition in such a way that altered as little as possible, and preserved much of what had defined Athens.[28] A similar kind of religious transition, one, in short, that involved little acrimony and no martyrs, and that left practices more or less as they had been, but under new labels, occurred in Iceland in the year 1000. The governing council of free farmers took a vote, and decided that the island would henceforth be Christian. They thought that it was past time to catch up with the rest of the world. Such decisions may be seen as medieval versions of the idea of "belated modernity" that has been studied in connection with the efforts of nations to modernize in our times.[29] And the belief in elves apparently still persists in Iceland.

The second possible explanation for the many churches of Lesbos is more interesting. Most of the attested bishops of the island between the mid-4th and early 6th centuries were heretics; at least they were not in conformity with the official doctrine being promulgated by the authorities in Constantinople. There were Anhomoians in the 4th century (the so-called "Neo-Arian" disciples of Aetios, a thinker who actually resided on Lesbos on a farm given to him by his friend the emperor Julian). Another bishop of the island, Phlorentios, wavered in the controversies of the early 5th century, while Zacharias in the early 6th was a Monophysite, and possibly in league with the Syriac missionary Iakobos Baradaios, who visited the island at roughly that time (and his sole purpose would have been conversion). This means that the Christian community was probably split into doctrinal factions, as elsewhere

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27   The standard survey of Lesbos is Spencer 1995, which shows how little work has been carried out. For the churches, see Charitonides 1968, pp. 10–62, which is preliminary and contains inaccuracies (it is not always based on autopsy). For the debate on Late Antique demography and settlement, see Pettegrew 2006.

28   Kaldellis 2008.

29   Iceland: Byock 2001. Belated modernity: Jusdanis 2001.

in the Empire, requiring separate churches for their services. This may explain why there are so many churches, and why some places, such as Eresos, seem to have two cathedrals.[30] The need to modernize may have worked together with internal divisions to endow the island with an abundance of churches that served it for the next 1000 years (at least according to the testimony of Gabriel Soumaroupa); while by contrast, only five middle Byzantine churches have been identified.[31]

Obviously, the evidence presented in this paper requires further scrutiny. Still, it presents a number of disciplinary challenges. On the one hand, on Lesbos it seems to be impossible to study Late Antiquity in isolation from the evidence for Byzantine and Ottoman times (which lasted until 1912). At the same time, it seems to call for a greater degree of cooperation between archaeology, ethnography, and anthropology. My expertise is in none of those fields, but I am happy to make my extensive field notes available to any colleague who is willing to pursue these questions further. There is more evidence for Lesbos in Late Antiquity than has been realized, and some of it is closer at hand than most imagine. Certainly, it forces us to wonder just how "late" Late Antiquity really is.

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30 For the duplication of monasteries in Egypt for this reason, see Rompay 2005, pp. 253–254.

31 Charitonides 1964, pp. 72–77.

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Baths of Constantinople: An Urban Symbol in a Changing World

Fikret Yegül

Abstract

Baths occupied a meaningful place in the lives of the Roman, Byzantine, and Turkish communities of Constantinople. While the larger, imperial thermae were in decline, small baths, embedded in the dense neighborhood fabric, and aligned with local churches, monasteries, and mansions, assumed a new social identity and significance. They evolved as a new civic institution, an urban symbol, in the vibrant neighborhood culture of the post-Justinianic city. In an almost seamless transition, they served as models for the small neighborhood baths and the bathing culture of Islamic-Turkish Istanbul.

We stood there, all three [a Greek priest, a Moslem imam and an American Jew], each one of us confirmed in his own different faith, but united in our common respect for all who try sincerely to be worthy of their faith…[1]

The transformation of baths and bathing culture of Classical Antiquity into Byzantine life constituted an almost seamless whole. Rome, politically unstable and economically weakened, still provided the natural models in bathing culture for eastern communities. Among the important urban centers of Late Antiquity, such as Alexandria and Antioch, none was able to imitate and emulate Rome in name and in fact, with greater vigor than Constantinople, the New Rome of Constantine.[2]

Mainly caused by the civic disorder resulting from Gothic and Lombardic invasions, the decline in bathing culture is believed to have come a couple of centuries earlier in the West than in the East.[3] Still, there was a general decrease in the construction of new baths after the 6th century, even in Constantinople. This

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1   Roditi 1977, p. 161. Roditi's evocative story is based on the legend of the 'Miraculous Fish' in the Monastery of Theodokos of Pege (Balikli Klise), located outside the Gate of Pege (Silivri Kapi) in Constantinople. See Müller-Wiener 1977, 35; Kuban 1996, pp. 116 and 124.

2   For a general review of baths and bathing in the Late Antique world, one might start with the following general studies: Berger 1982; Yegül 1992 and 1995, pp. 314–349; Yegül 2003, pp. 55–72, pls. 7–22; Mango 1959; Mango 1981, pp. 327–353; Zellinger 1928. For the baths of Constantinople add: Müller-Wiener 1977; Ebersolt 1910; Ebersolt 1934, pp. 96–99; Ebersolt 1951; Guilland 1969, esp. pp. 169–172; Janin 1969; Bassett 1996, pp. 491–506.

3   Ward-Perkins 1984, pp. 129–130, 20–44.

decline cannot be attributed wholly to Christian doctrine against bathing, because the early Church had adopted an ambivalent and pragmatic position on this issue; there was never a rigid doctrine against bathing. The closest the Church ever came to theologically-based opposition to bathing was the ascetic ideal known as *alousia*, or "the state of being unwashed," popular among isolated monastic communities in the East during the 4th and 5th centuries. This ideal, which exalts baptism as the only legitimate bath, is mirrored in St. Jerome's famous injunction that "He who has bathed in Christ has no need of a second bath."[4] Yet it was not the act of bathing itself that the Church found objectionable, but what baths and bathing symbolized as a celebration of worldliness and sensuality, a pleasurable activity that opposed the notion of spirituality achieved through the negation of the body and the senses. The rituals of a pagan institution, that for centuries had symbolized the cultivation of the physical aspects of life, naturally needed some redefinition and readjustment if they were to be tolerated in a world idealizing and advocating modesty, frugality, and self-denial. For the most part, the Church was ready to accept bathing if it was conceived as a functional, hygienic, and ritualistic activity. Monastic baths were used by clergy and pilgrims. At Easter and on other religious days, these baths were used for the ritualistic washing of the poor as a charitable gesture.[5] For the liberal-minded leaders of the Church—bishops and patriarchs—bathing, even as a pleasurable, pagan activity, carried no fear. Country villas and the residences of many bishops and prominent clergy included private bathing suites, following the custom of Roman aristocracy. The pleasures of bathing were familiar to Macedonius, an early 6th-century patriarch of Constantinople, and his monks. As reported in the exaggerated account of Zacharius of Mytilene, the worldly monastic brothers were exhausted by the frequency of the baths they were taking.[6] Bishop Sissinius glibly regretted having to bathe only twice a day because he could not bathe three times.[7] Saint John Chrysostom criticized the vanity of mothers who spoiled their daughters with worldly luxuries such as baths, but did not object to visiting baths himself, nor did he stop his clergy from performing baptisms in major baths in Constantinople. Sometimes, baths were even owned and operated by a church or monastery as a profitable business venture.[8]

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4   Berger 1982, pp. 35–38; Yegül 2000, pp. 314–319; Jer. *Ep.* 14.10.

5   In Rome, Aqua Traiana was repaired under Pope Hadrian I (772–795), in order to supply water to a baptistery and to a bath near St. Peter's "for the benefit of the pilgrims and the clergy serving there." These baths are described in the *Liber Pontificalis* as "the bath … where our brothers, Christ's poor, usually bathe when they come yearly to receive alms at Easter." *Lib. Pont.* I, 503–504. For further evidence on charity baths in the West, see Ward-Perkins 1984, pp. 136–140.

6   Berger 1982, pp. 38–39; Yegül 2000, pp. 320–321; Hamilton and Brooks 1899, p. 168.

7   Sokr, *HE*, 6.22.4.

8   Mango 1981, pp. 338–340; Yegül 2000, pp. 314–315. For Saint Chrysostom: Palladius, *Dialogus*, 9; Sokr, *HE*, 6.18; John Chrysostom 51.239.

What happened, then, to the 153 balneae of Constantinople listed in the *Notitia Urbis* of the early 5th century?[9] Did they disappear out of old age and neglect through the 7th and 8th centuries along with the larger thermae, or did the small, neighborhood baths last in some form or the other into the Late Byzantine era? Did the victorious armies of Mehmet II and his Turkish-Islamic subjects find the public baths of their newly conquered and much admired Konstantiniye adequate in numbers and pleasing in quality, comparable to the baths they had been accustomed to enjoy in Syria, Iran, and the rest of Asia Minor? With so many baths to start with, there was perhaps simply no need to build new ones, in the light of shrinking urban populations. Urban renewal programs of the 9th and 10th centuries, such as the ambitious building effort under Basil I, were mainly restricted to churches, monasteries, and palaces. Although lavishly appointed baths for imperial and wealthy residences continued to be built, no public baths of any consequence are mentioned in the records.[10] Some of the baths of Constantinople, famous for their size and opulence, were abandoned during this period or converted to other uses. As the great baths themselves disappeared, their memory, embellished with fantastic and magical qualities, lingered on in the public mind as legends and myths. The heating of the Baths of Zeuxippos came to be attributed to a magical glass lamp, and that of the Baths of Kaminia to naphta or Greek fire.[11]

This widely accepted view about the general decline of baths and bathing culture, supported by literary and archaeological evidence, however, needs to be questioned and qualified. There is little question that the construction of major new baths, except those associated with palaces and mansions, waned during the post-Justinianic period. However, the situation could have been quite different for the balneae. The balneae, modest two- or three-room neighborhood establishments, often displaying a simple row plan, without a palaestra or an elaborate frigidarium, might have existed during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods without leaving a distinct archaeological and literary record. As small, privately-owned commercial enterprises, they could not be expected to make news, and often they carried no honors and no dedications. The scarcity in the records of any mention of small baths may be misleading, because such records reflect the building programs of civic and religious authorities who were interested neither in building modest, neighborhood baths, nor in talking about them.[12] Nonetheless, it must have been baths of just this modest type which confronted the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia who, on their long journey from the East during the 12th and 13th centuries, came increasingly in contact with the legendary Byzantine capital, and took residence in the "City." In their turn, they must have provided fresh impetus to bath design and bathing habits through their contacts with the already flourishing Islamic baths of Iran and the Caspian littoral.[13]

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9   *Notitia Urbis Regionum* in H. Jordan, *Topographie Stadt Rom* II (Berlin 1881, reprint of 1907) 568, 573; *NotDign* 229–243.

10   Mango 1981, pp. 340–341.

11   Malalas 321; *Chron. Pasch.* 494; Preger, *Scriptores* II, 15; Mango 1981, pp. 340.

12   Yegül 2000, p. 315; *ODB*, pp. 271–272, s.v. Baths (A. Karpozilos et al.).

13   Yegül 2000, p. 315; Mango 1981, p. 341, n. 25; Önge 1995.

What do we know about the baths of Byzantine Constantinople, large as well as small, from our combined archaeological and literary evidence? If we discount the various baths subsumed by the Great Palace, their distribution seems fairly even, with perhaps a greater concentration in the old and densely populated neighborhoods, and closer to major water supply lines, such as the Aqueduct of Valens and the various cisterns distributed throughout the city. It is also logical to assume that different ethnic, national, and even professional groups had their favorite baths. The situation might have been fairly similar to the better documented distribution of baths in Istanbul in the century or so following the conquest.

Physical evidence for baths is very slim, several instances in all, although even here there may be more than meets the eye. The densely built old city, with its thriving core of trade, commerce, and minor industries, hides its archaeological record well.[14] First, we have the Baths of Zeuxippos, a major bathing establishment situated on the northwest corner of the Hippodrome, and excavated partially by the University of St. Andrews in 1927–1928.[15] The second is the strikingly designed balneum, with a tightly packed, curvilinear arrangement of rooms, lodged between the Kalenderhane Cami and the aqueduct of Valens, excavated in the 1960s.[16] The third is the small, row-type bath situated on the Topkapi Palace grounds, east of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, which was excavated in 1973–1974.[17] Of these three baths, only the Zeuxippos Thermae is mentioned in literature; the other two could have been counted among the city's 153 balneae, and no particular reason existed to give their names or descriptions. Yet, putting all the literary information together—granted, some are mere references with vague provenances—and relying on the works of modern scholars and specialists, I have come up with about two dozen or so baths named or described in our sources, in addition to the three known through archaeology (See Table 11.1).[18] This number can be augmented somewhat by the many baths which were a part of urban monasteries, of which the city had some 300 or so by the 15th century. Among the baths mentioned by Ancient sources, no fewer than 20 were built by emperors and empresses, or by other members of the imperial family; some were a part of the Great Palace or of some other minor palace or mansion.[19] The remaining four or five could have been endowed by other aristocratic and ecumenical leaders, such as the baths created by the patriarch

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14   It is telling that among the 20 odd papers presented (and subsequently published) in an important symposium on the 'Topography and Monuments of Byzantine Constantinople' held in Istanbul in 1999, there is none that even cursorily deals with the baths of the city. See Necipoğlu 2001. In the same volume, Tuna 2001, pp. 217–234, reports no new bath discovery in his article.

15   Janin 1950, pp. 215–217; Mango 1959, pp. 37–42; Yegül 2000, p. 324; Müller-Wiener 1977, p. 51, fig. 29. For excavation reports, Rice and Hudson 1928; Rice and Hudson 1929; Casson 1930, pp. 215–242.

16   Striker and Kuban 1997, pp. 7, 31–36; Yegül 2000, pp. 324–325.

17   *AnatSt* 1974, p. 35; Yegül 2000, pp. 324–325, n. 79.

18   The table is mainly based on these secondary sources: Janin 1950, esp. pp. 216–224; Ebersolt 1934, esp. pp. 95–98; Berger 1982, esp. pp. 144–159; Guilland 1969; Mango 1981, pp. 339–342; Kuban 1996; Yegül, 2000.

19   Janin 1950, pp. 209–217; Ebersolt 1910, pp. 16–18, 27; Berger 1982, pp. 148–155.

Germain in the late 4th century in the process of transforming his house (probably quasi-public in nature), though we do not know where. Some of the monastic baths were probably charity baths built as a gesture toward Christ's poor, and used mainly on religious occasions.

Three conditions emerge: a) There were many more baths established and maintained through imperial munificence, or bearing the names of royals, than the nine thermae reported in the *Notitia Urbis* (in fact, only a few of the names mentioned in the sources qualify as thermae); b) None of the 24 odd baths known through literature appear to be among the small, private, neighborhood balneae counted among the 100 in the *Notitia*; c) Although we know the names of these baths, and sometimes their rough location in the city, we know little of their architecture and planning (Fig. 11.1: Plan of Constantinople). Not surprisingly, the only baths whose architecture and planning we know with any degree of confidence are the two small baths which have been properly excavated: the Topkapi Palace Baths and the

Fig. 11.1   Plan of Constantinople with the distribution of baths known through excavations or literary sources (locations are approximate) (based on Kuban, *Istanbul*, Figure 45)

Kalenderhane Cami Baths; and, to a lesser degree, the Thermae of Zeuxippos. Let us summarily review the architecture and archaeology of these baths.

Topkapi Baths, and extensive cisterns related to them, were uncovered during the 1973–1974 foundation excavations east of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Constructed in *opus mixtum* of small cut stones alternating with bands of brick, these baths are believed to date from the 5th or 6th century. They have a simple
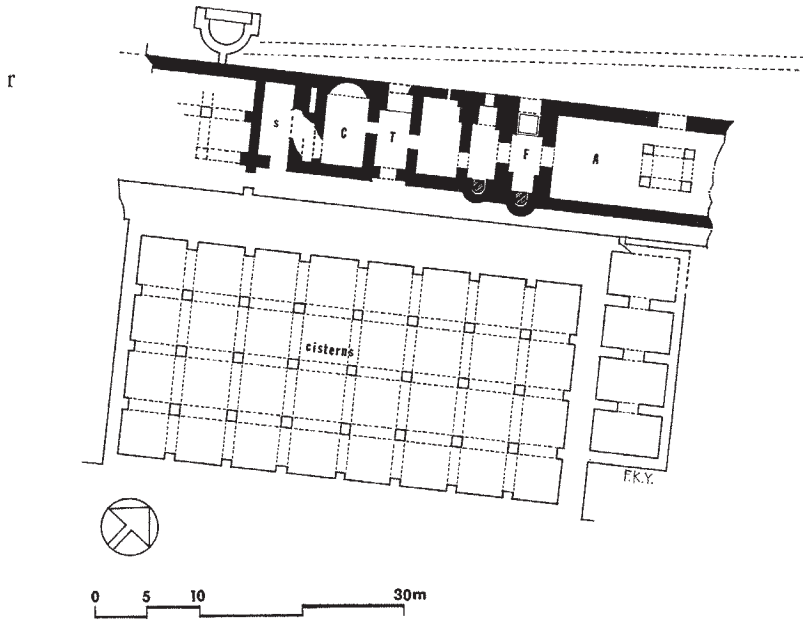
Fig. 11.2   Topkapi Sarayi Baths, plan (author)

row plan with tiny, apsidal caldaria (Fig. 11.2). This practical plan, common in the provinces, must also have been popular among the small baths of Constantinople. Another example of the small row type is the fully excavated bath in Rheigion, along the Marmara Sea, west of the city (Küçük Çekmece).[20]

The 4th-century baths, excavated between the aqueduct of Valens and Kalenderhane Cami, represent a more dynamic approach to planning, and offer a tantalizing glimpse into what some of these balneae of Late Antique Constantinople might have been like (Fig. 11.3). Although only the eastern half seems to have been preserved, the tight, curvilinear cluster of the heated units reveals the general tenor of the plan. Many of its elements, such as the trefoil caldarium, find comparable

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20 Ogan and Mansel 1942, pp. 21–23.

counterparts among the Byzantine and Early Islamic baths of Syria.[21] The articulation of circular units into a composite geometry by means of niches, apses, and alcoves might have been less a response to the restrictions of the tight building site, hemmed in by the great aqueduct, than a reflection of a favored planning mode in Late Antique architecture. Also characteristic of Late Antique planning is the circumambient clustering of the elements around the east end of a spacious open-air hemicycle or exedra. This arrangement recalls the overall plan of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausos located on the north end of the Hippodrome, the latter with a cluster of tightly-packed, multi-lobed units around a sigma court (see Fig. 11.6).[22] Baths might have been included somewhere near this complex, although there is no indication that any of the sigma clusters themselves actually defined baths. A better comparison may be the relationship between the sigma court of the 4th-century villa
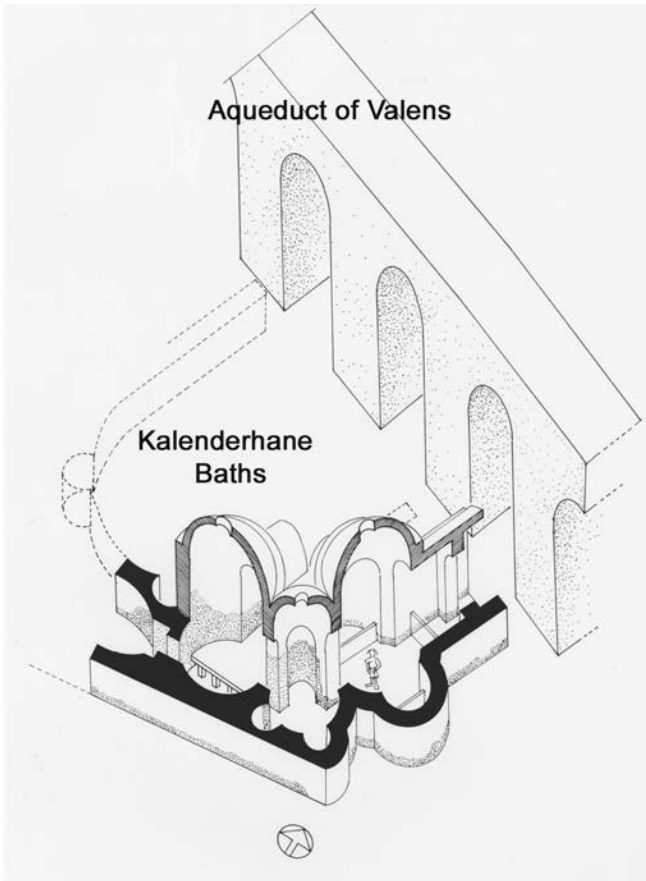
Fig. 11.3   Kalenderhane Cami Baths, partial axonometric reconstruction (author, courtesy of C. Striker)

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21   Yegül 2000, pp. 326–343.

22   Müller-Wiener 1977, pp. 238–239; R. Janin 1965, pp. 252–257; Naumann 1965, pp. 135–148.

at Piazza Armerina and its elaborate, densely-packed, multi-lobed bath wing. The
Kalenderhane Baths, too, might have been linked to a residential complex by way
of its sigma court.

   The largest and the most famous baths of Constantinople were the Thermae of
Zeuxippos, situated between the northeast corner of the Hippodrome and the Great
Palace, directly on an open public space called the Tetrastoon. Although these baths
were linked to the Palace by a private passage, they were an independent public
establishment, different from the half-a-dozen or more baths which were directly a
part of the Great Palace, or of its many satellite palaces and residences (see below;
Fig. 11.4). They were started under Septimius Severus, and might have received
their name from a statue of Zeus-Hippios that was removed from the Tetrastoon.
Interpreting Malalas' text, C. Mango suggested that the baths actually fringed
on a public plaza that was perhaps the most important terminus of several major
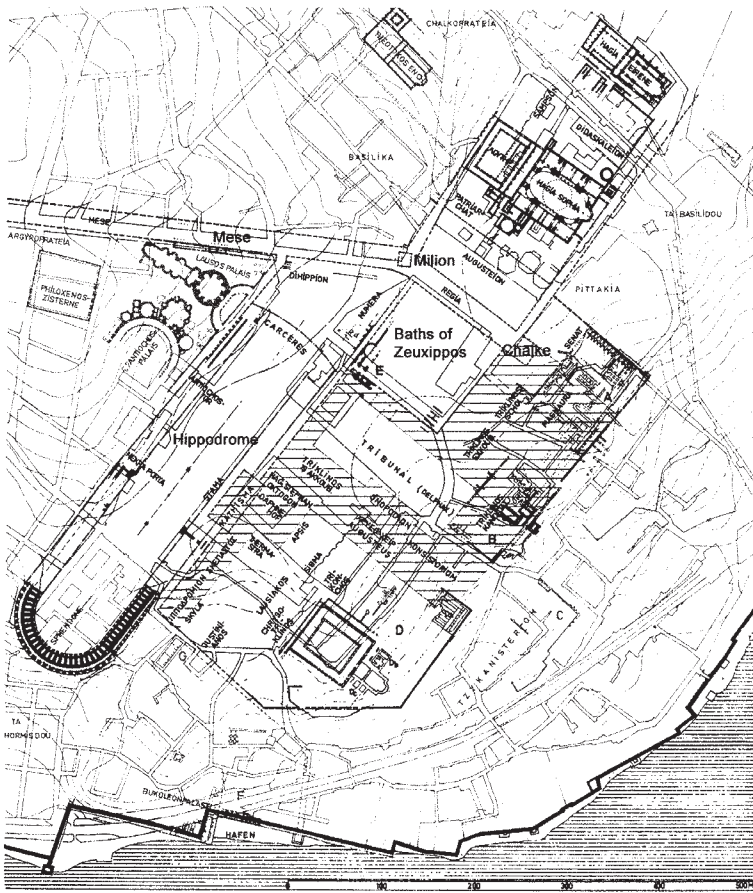
Fig. 11.4   General Plan of the Great Palace, Constantinople (from W. Muller-
             Wiener, Topographie, Figure 263 after C. E. Mamboury and T.
             Wiegand, Die Kaiserpalaeste von Konstantinopel (Berlin 1936).

thoroughfares, including the Mese, the Milion, and the Regia, the monumental approaches to the Great Palace. A later development, separated by the Regia, was the Augusteion, another important plaza. There could not be found a more central and prominent location in the city.[23]

The complex was renovated by Constantine, who made it a showcase of his rule by decorating it in rich marbles and an imposing collection of statuary.[24] After suffering a severe fire in the 6th century, it was rebuilt, perhaps in somewhat reduced form, under Justinian. The excellent location and the luxurious interiors made these thermae a veritable public museum and a fashionable social center. In the 10th century, the author of the *Patria* recalled them as a wonder of the past, a nostalgic memory from an era when such great baths could exist and dazzle the people with their size, sumptuousness, and technical ingenuity, which in the eyes of later ages, appeared nothing short of magical (see below for social significance of these baths).

Physical remains from the baths are scarce but informative. Substructures and lower walls reveal two building groups: on the west, heavy walls supporting vaulted halls and a large, round, domed structure; and a great apse or exedra facing an open colonnade on the east (Fig. 11.5). Although the full extent of these groups is far from certain, they can be identified as the two familiar components of the so-called 'gymnasia' of Asia Minor: the western vaulted structures, served by an extensive hydraulic installation are the heated bath block; the eastern colonnaded court with the exedra is the palaestra. The circular hall, about 12m in diameter, could have
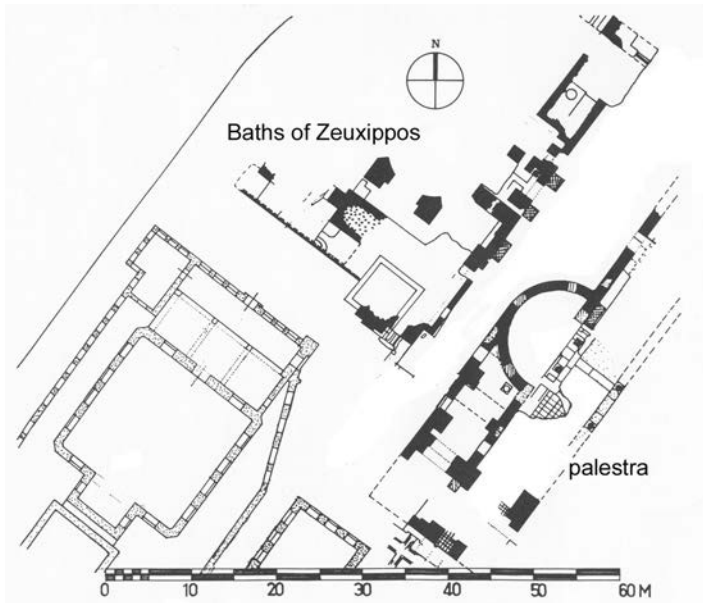
Fig. 11.5   Baths of Zeuxippos, general plan (after Muller-Wiener, *Topographie*, Figure 29)

23   Mango 1959, pp. 37–42; Janin 1950, pp. 215–217; Guilland 1969, pp. 221–222.

24   Bassett 1996, pp. 491–506; Basset 2004, pp. 25–28 and 51–58; Stupperich 1982, pp. 210–235. See also Gilles 1729, pp. 70–72.

been a tepidarium, or more probably, a heated, general hall connecting major spaces. With regard to design, the Thermae of Zeuxippos, rather than imitating the imperial thermae of Rome, appear to have been a bath-gymnasium with an asymmetrical layout, a type born and popularized in Asia.[25]

It is more difficult to assess the size and extent of the Thermae of Zeuxxipos, and the particular relationship of the bath block to the palaestra. On account of the restrictions of the site, it is almost certain that the complex was not of the symmetrical type, unifying the bath block and the palaestra on the same axis. The site available for the bath block, hemmed in by the Hippodrome and the oblique course of the Mese, was roughly trapezoidal (Fig. 11.6).
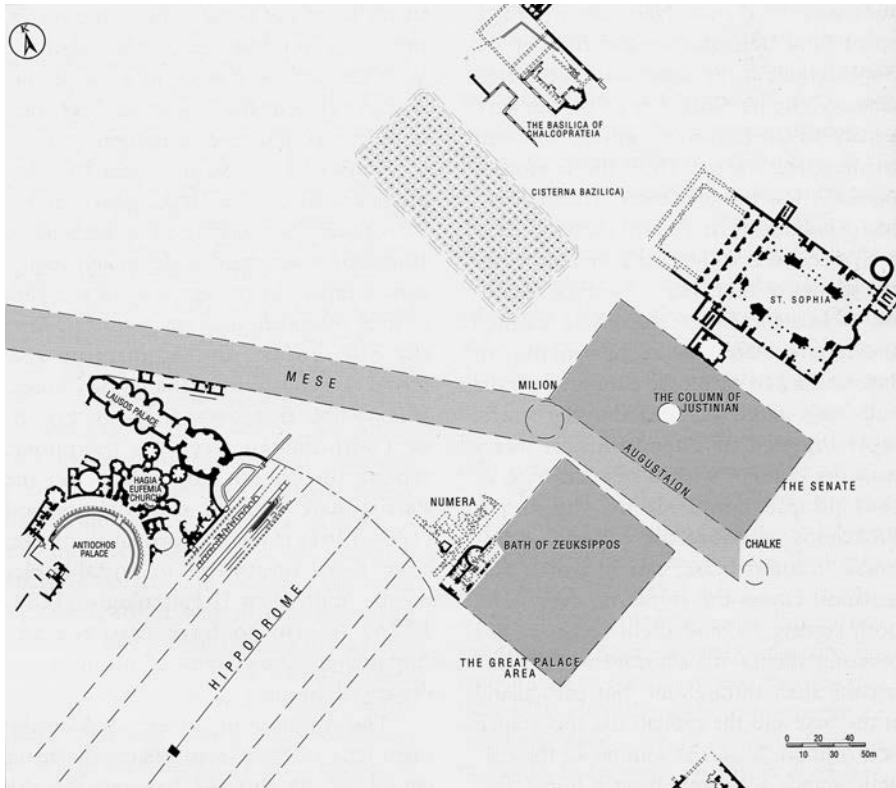
Fig, 11.6   Plan of the area north and east of the Hippodrome and the east end of Mese: Palaces of Laussos and Antiochos, Baths of Zeuxippos, Augusteion and Hagia Sophia (from Kuban, *Istanbul*, Figure 25)

On the east, there was more room for the palaestra. If the existing apse was located on the symmetrical axis of the composition, a courtyard of about 60m wide and 80m deep would be possible; however, the site could probably accommodate a much grander palaestra, roughly 90m square, symmetrically disposed around

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25   Yegül 2000, pp. 250–313.

a pair of exedra (we should look for the second, hypothetical exedra some 26m north of the present one). In either case, the footprint of the Severan-Constantinian complex would have recalled the imperial but asymmetrical arrangement of the Bath-Gymnasium of Faustina at Miletus (Fig. 11.7). The Zeuxippos thermae would have been roughly one third larger than the Faustina complex, and one quarter larger than the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius Antoninus at Ephesus. But it would have fallen significantly short of any of the grand bath-gymnasia of Asia Minor, such as the Harbor Baths in Ephesus, the Imperial Bath-Gymnasium at Sardis, the Bath-Gymnasium at Alexandria, and of course, any of the imperial thermae of Rome.
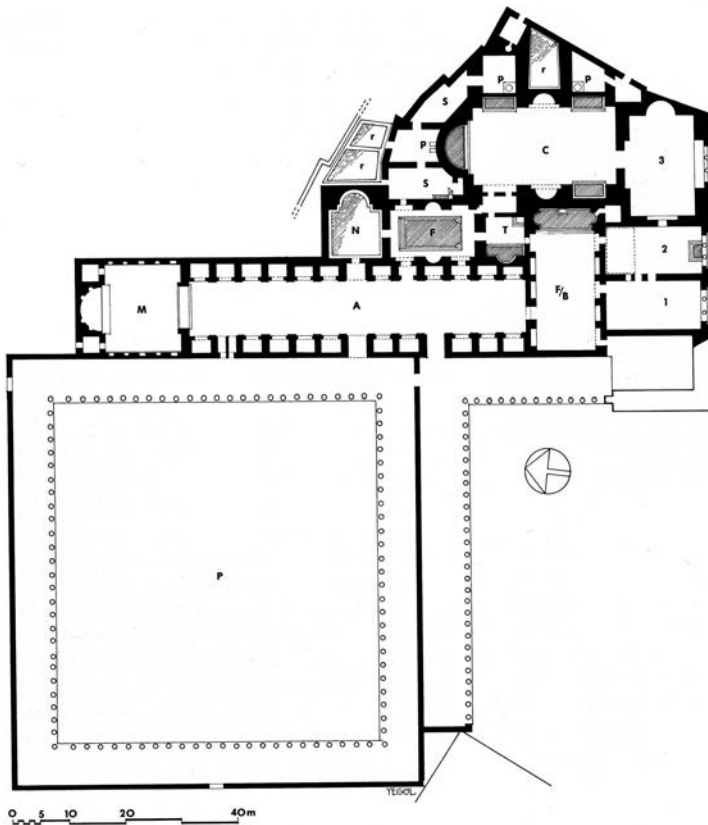
Fig. 11.7   Bath-Gymnasium Complex of Faustina, plan (author)

Table 11.1 Baths of Constantinople

BATHS	LOCATION	DATE, PERIOD, USAGE	COMMENTS
1. (Z) Zeuxippos	Northeast corner of the Hippodrome; between the Hippodrome and the Augusteion, a large public plaza.	Severan, Constantinian and restorations under Justinian. Still functioning in 713 when Emperor Phillippicus bathed; abandoned in 10th C., parts made into a prison called the Numera after the 8th C.	Major bath, fashionable social center connected directly to the Palace; way-station of Emperors on the way to Hippodrome. Famous for its sculptural display. Partially excavated in 1927-28.
2. Carosianae	In Region VII, 3rd Hill (near Kapalicarsi); probably near the Kalenderhane Baths.	Completed by Valens in honor of his daughter Carosia; opening ceremonies in 375; abandoned in 6th c.	Probably close to the Aqueduct of Valens and served by it
3. Constantine, Constantinianae (and an associated Nymphaeum)	Near Constantine's Mausoleum, Region X, in the Constantine district (Fatih); bordering on the porticos of the Church of the Apostles, probably a part of the church (south of the Fatih Mosque, down the hill).	Started under Constantine, finished by 345, under Constantius II; revisions under Constans and Valens. Used until 8th C.	One of the largest thermae of the city; splendid decorations; famous Stoa of Perseus and Andromeda with statues. Subject of an admiring description by Helladius. The area around the baths had many aristocratic mansions
4. Achilleus	In Region V, near Strategion (Sirkeci-Eminonu-Bab-i-Ali)	Probably Hadrianic. Remembered as the "oldest known bath built by Byzas" by Hesychius of Miletus; burnt down in 432.	Water brought in lead pipes from the Aqueduct of Hadrian. Also referred to as a "gymnasium": It had the altar of "Ajax and Achilles."
5. Anthemius	Outside the Constantinian walls, west of the city, near the Cistern of Mocius (just west of Aksaray)	Built by Western Roman Emperor Anthemius, or probably his grand-father of the same name, c. 467.	Perhaps served by the Mocius Cistern. Probably associated with a private palace or mansion.

BATHS	LOCATION	DATE, PERIOD, USAGE	COMMENTS
6. Arcadius (Thermae Arkadianae)	In Region I, between the Hippodrome and the sea	Built in c. 395-400 by Emperor Arkadius, or in early 5th C by his daughter Arcadia. Renewed and richly decorated by Justinian and Theodora.	Justinian and Theodora endowed a colonnaded marble terrace with statues which a a fine view of the Marmara Sea
7. Areobindus (Baths of Petros/Peter)	Constantinanae (Fatih), near the aqueduct of Valens.	According to pseudo-Codinus, built in late 6th C. by Peter, brother of Emperor Maurice; still in use in 9th C.	Might be associated with the mansion of general Flavius Areobindus and his descendants
8. Anastasius (Thermae Anastasianae)	Region IX, near the Forum of Arcadius (Cerrah Pasa-Haseki)	Like the Carosianae, completed by Anastasia and Carosia, daughters of Valens, late 4th C.	Probably served by a branch line from the Aqueduct of Valens
9. Alexdros	In Region II, probably N of Hagia Irene	Burnt in the Nike Revolt of 532	
10. Dagistheus	SW of the Hippodrome, just outside the Great Palace, across from the Church of Saint Anastasia (close to the location of the Sokullu Mehmet Pasa Cami)	Begun by Emperor Anastasius I at the end of the 4th C. and completed by Justinian. Abandoned by early 9th C., it was reported that by then a monk was living in the hypocaust.	These baths were part of the small Dagistheus Palace, probably a satellite of the Great Palace. Also referred to as the Baths of Anastasius.
11. Oikonomion	Just outside the Great Palace, E of the first hill, near the Tzykanisterion and the stables.	Built by Basil I (867-86) but erroneously attributed to Constantine. Destroyed (and reformed ?) by John I Tzimiskes (969-76)	This may be the same 10th C. bath reported near the "Fountain of the Blues" in the Place. See below.
12. Baths by the "Fountain of the Blues"	Same location as the ʻOikonomion Baths,ʼ on the terrace of the fountains.	10th C. by John I Tzimiskes ?	This may be the bath rebuilt lavishly with marbles taken from Chalke (Kadikoy) in place of or next to the defunct Oikomonion. Described as a very large bath, it had twelve stoas and many swimming pools with cosmic allusions.

BATHS	LOCATION	DATE, PERIOD, USAGE	COMMENTS
13. Katophron	Inside the Great Palace, could be near the Baths of Oikonomion	Built probably by Basil I in the 9th C., destroyed by the time of Nikephoros II Phokas (963-9)	These baths are mentioned in the *Patria* along with the Oikonomion
14. Marina Palace Baths	A part of the old Marine Palace (a satellite of the Great Palace), located in Region I, along the coast, near the churches of St. George-Manganai and St. Mary Hodegetria (E of Topkapi),	Built by Leo VI (886-912)	Private use of the Marina Palace, known for their luxury and described as "the wonder of our State."
15. Kaminia	According to pseudo-Codinus they were outside the Severan-era city, probably W of the Forum of Constantine (Cemberlitas)	Severan ? Abandoned by the 9th C.	Very large baths, "2,000 could bathe daily." Its beauty and lighting admired and attributed to "naphta lamps."
16. Eudoxianae	In Region V, near the Forum of Constantine (Cemberlitas) and the Strategion	Built in honor of Eudoxia, wife of Arkadius (405-408).	Could be the same as the Baths of Achilleus
17. Honorius	In Region V	Honorius, western emperor, end of 4th C.	Honorius endowed the city of his birth with a second bath which was in Region XIII (Galata).
18. Helenianae	In western quarter known as Helenianae , near the sea (Samatya),	Palace-Church-Bath complex, mid-4th C.; baths functioned through the 5.th	These baths were a part of the palace and church of Helena.
19. Pithekion Palace Baths	Inside the Great Palace but exact location unknown	Unknown	Mentioned by Simeon Magister. Was there a 'Pithekion Palace' also?
20. Petrion	In Petrion Quarter, on the Golden Horn, (south of Phanari-Fener)	Monastery founded by Basil I (867-86)	These baths were probably a part of the Petrion monastery

BATHS	LOCATION	DATE, PERIOD, USAGE	COMMENTS
21. Forum Bovis Baths	Near the Forum Bovis (present Aksaray)	Founded by Niketas, palace majordomo under Emperor Theophilius (829-42)	One of the latest large public baths to be established
22. Sophianae (earlier Baths of Taurus?)	Near the Forum Taurus between Regions X and XI (east of Bayezid square, Laleli)	Justin II (ca. 570)	According to Theophanus Justin II (c. 570) restored an older bath in Forum Taurus and renamed after his wife Sophie
23. Baths of Germain	Unknown	Constructed by Patriarch Germain, under western Roman Emperor Valentinian, brother of Valens, late 4th C.	According to pseudo-Codinus, Germain "transformed his house into a bath." This may be a quasi-public neighborhood bath associated with a palace/mansion
24. Blachernae Palace Baths	Part of the Blachernae Palace, 6th Hill, in the quarter Blachernae where the Theodosian Wall meets Golden Horn	Started in 581, renewed and redecorated under Basil II (976-1025), burnt down in 1070 along with the church.	These baths, which formed an important part of Byzantine emperors Friday ceremony, was a part of the Blachernae Complex including the palace, the Theotokos Church and the basilica
25. Baths of Hodegetria	Region I or II, NE of Hagia Sophia, below the first hill	Known through an 11th C. epigram in association with the pool of a public bath which was a part of the Monastery	A late Byzantine bath associated with the Monastery of Hodegetria but open top the public
26. Mopias Palace Baths	Region II, E of Hagia Irene, a part of the Mopias Palace.	Established by Leo VI (886-912) and restored by his son Constantine VII	This bath was a part of a private palace or mansion named Mopias. A women's 'Baths of Mopias' known from an epigram

This is a realization that deserves a moment's attention. If the great Baths of Zeuxippos were not of a similar size and scope to the imperial thermae of Rome or even those in the prominent urban centers of Asia Minor, were there any others among the nine thermae of Constantinople listed in the *Notitia* that were? Among those mentioned specifically in the sources, the Thermae of Constantine might have been among the largest and most popular of the city's baths (see Table 11.1 and the map Fig. 11.1 for this bath and other city baths discussed below. Locations of the baths with few exceptions are approximate). They were located immediately south of the Church of the Holy Apostles, in the heart of the oldest and busiest districts, the Constantinianae (modern Fatih-Aksaray, Fig. 11.1, #3). Endowed by Constans in 345, they enjoyed a second opening in 472 as a part of larger festivities, and were in operation at least until the 8th century. The luxury of their interiors deserved an *ekphrasis* by Helladius of Alexandria, who mentions a statue of Perseus and Andromedea among its decoration. Nothing is known of the real fabric, their actual size, or plan.[26]

The Baths of Kaminia, built by Septimius Severus outside the Severan walls of the city, must have been another very large establishment (Fig. 11.1, #15). One late source, reporting among the ruins of this structure, and prone to the kind of nostalgic exaggeration encouraged by ruins, states that 2,000 could have bathed daily in the Kaminiae—which is, of course, not the same thing as 2,000 bathing at one time, as in the thermae of Rome. The same source mentions that these wonderful baths were heated by "naphta lamps".[27]

Other prominent and large baths, such as the Baths of Oikonomon (Fig. 11.1, #11) or the Baths of Katophron (Fig. 11.1, #13), were part of, or at least somehow associated with, the Great Palace. The Oikonomon was reportedly, but dubiously, started by Constantine. This was probably the same as, or very near to, the baths Basil I built near the "Fountain of the Blues," and duly described as "the largest and the most beautiful" of the palace baths (Fig. 11.1, #12). It had twelve stoas representing the months, seven halls representing the planets, and a number of wondrous swimming pools.[28] Such celestial allusions were not uncommon among Late Antique and Early Islamic bath lore.[29] Another bath situated within the larger premises of the Great Palace was the Baths of the Marina Palace (or the Marina Baths) described as "the wonder of our State" (Fig. 11.1, #14). Connected to a semi-independent peristyle group, these baths were started under Leo VI (886–912). They were probably rather small, but of high quality, and served the private bathing needs

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26   Mango 1981, pp. 338–340; Preger, *Scriptores* I, 67; *Chron. Pasch.* 534, 58–81; Berger 1982, p. 151; Janin 1950, pp. 212–213. In his description of the Church of the Holy Apostles, Eusebios *VC* 59 refers to these baths as a magnificent, domed building, surrounded by porticos on four sides: "Adjoining these porticos were stately chambers, promenades and baths …"

27   Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 136.

28   Mango 1981, pp. 340–341; Janin 1950, pp. 214–215; Berger 1982, pp. 150–154; Ebersolt 1910, p. 74, n.7; Guilland 1969 I, p. 210, n. 53.

29   It is reported that in the context of entertainment in the baths, actors dressed as planetary bodies performed in "a sort of cosmic dance" for the Umayyad ruler Abl al-Walid II. Grabar 1963, p. 156; Yegül 2000, p. 349. See also Hillenbrand 1982, pp. 1–35.

of the Marina Palace.[30] Located somewhere between the Palace and the Strategion (military drill fields, near modern Sirkeci) were the Baths of Achilleus (Fig. 11.1, #4). According to Hesychius of Miletus, these baths were built by the legendary Byzas. Believed to be the oldest bathing establishment of Constantinople, they were associated with the city's foundation legends (and might have been re-named as the Thermae of Eudoxia (Fig. 11.1, #16).[31] In the same district was a small bathing establishment endowed at the end of the 4th century by the western emperor Honorius (Fig. 11.1, #17).

As well as the bathing functions of the Great Palace and of its numerous satellite palaces, there were independent mansions, belonging to the important families of the city, which all had their own baths, sometimes as detached or semi-detached structures on the grounds of the mansion, but sometimes located inside the main building.[32] Some of these "mansion-baths" might have been opened for the enjoyment of the immediate neighborhood, at least on certain days, as a gesture of good will and munificence. These quasi-private baths of the wealthier clans of the Constantinopolitan society must have played an important role in the social life of the city during the Late Byzantine period, as the larger public baths lost their appeal on account of attrition and a lack of proper maintenance. Probably every district, and every borough of Constantinople boasted a "large house" around which a sort of patronizing local aristocracy evolved, such as the baths associated with the Mopias Palace east of Hagia Eirene (Fig. 11.1, #26). The *konaks* and *konak*-life of Ottoman Istanbul probably retained the same flavor of these Byzantine mansions and their precious and patronizing social rituals.[33]

Among the baths whose names are associated with private residences, are those of Anthemius, located outside the Constantinian walls, near the Cistern of Mocius, and probably served by it (Fig. 11.1, #5).[34] The Pithekion Palace, known in name only, boasted an independent bath structure placed in a garden.[35] Attached to the Palace of Helena, Constantine's mother, located on the Marmara shore between modern Samatya and Etyemez, the baths known as the Helenianae were functioning into the 5th and 6th centuries, probably serving the local community as well as the palace (Fig. 11.1, #18).[36] Another small quasi-public bath associated with a private palace was that of Dagistheus. The building, dating probably from the Justinianic era, was located in Region III, southwest of the Hippodrome, across from the Church of Saint Anastasia, later converted into the Sokullu Mehmet Pasa Cami, one of

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30 Mango 1981, p. 341; *TheophCont*, 460–461.

31 Berger 1982, p. 153; Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 259, 10–13; Janin 1950, pp. 209–210, 213–214; Ebersolt, 1910, pp. 16–18.

32 Kuban 1996, pp. 95–97. Though it is doubtless greatly exaggerated, of course, Evliya Çelebi, the famous 17th-century Ottoman traveler and urban chronicler, lists some 68,900 mansions belonging to the royalty and upper classes in Istanbul, of which some 14,536 had private baths as part of the residence, or attached to it. See Kuban 1996, p. 319.

33 For a glimpse of some of the rich aristocratic neighborhoods of Constantinople, and of the important families who owned palatial dwellings, see Magdalino 2001, pp. 53–69.

34 Janin 1950, p. 211.

35 Janin 1950, p. 215; Ebersolt 1910, p. 74, n. 7.

36 Janin 1950, p. 213; Berger 1982, p. 154; Guilland 1969 II, p. 61.

the master works of the Ottoman architect Sinan (Fig. 11.1, #10). This bath was later remembered for its capacious hypocaust which sheltered a monk in the 9th century.[37]

Another important but hardly considered category of baths were those associated with churches or urban monasteries. D. Kuban's study of Constantinople underlines the significance and the proliferation of monasteries in the city during the pre-Justinianic period, such as the Middle Byzantine Monastery of Pammacaristos illustrated in the engraving[38] (Fig. 11.8). Baths counted among the stock elements of many monasteries, such as the baths associated with the Monastery of Petrion on the Golden Horn (Fig. 11.1, #20) or the baths of the Monastery of Hodegetria somewhere northeast of Hagia Sophia (Fig. 11.1, #25). It would not be illogical to propose that even the smallest neighborhoods assumed a new identity from the special combination of the palace-mansion, the church and the bath—a trilogy reflecting the symbolic conflation of the realms of religion, local authority, and popular culture. By the Middle Byzantine period, as dominance of the larger baths and thermae faded, this new urban trilogy was energized by the interdependent nature of its components. As an emerging socio-political construct, it was effective and durable because it was based above all on the primacy of the neighborhood (and its smallest civic unit, the *vicus*, the borough, the street) as an independent entity of ethnic and religious culture, in a city made whole by the remarkable tapestry of cultures. So deeply ingrained was this entity in the life of Constantinople, that centuries later it continued to be echoed, in Kuban's words, as "the most stable institution of [Islamic-Turkish] Istanbul," i.e., the *mahalle* with its mosque, *konak*, and *hamam*.[39] Some of these small Turkish *hamams*, conspicuous with their multiple, diminutive domes, still survive as modest urban centerpieces in back neighborhoods of Istanbul (Fig. 11.9).[40]

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37   Mango 1981, p. 339; Guilland 1969, II, p. 87; Malalas 435; *Chron. Pasch.* 618.

38   Kuban 1996, pp. 137–140, fig. 61; Ebersolt 1934, p. 96. On monastic baths, see also Orlandos 1958, pp. 95–105.

39   Most studies treat culture and customs of historic communities as ethnographic values or curiosities, independent of the intimate physical context in which they had been shaped. It is commendable that, in his urban history of Constantinopolis-Istanbul, Kuban 1996 offers a rare conceptual and spatial understanding of the urban neighborhood as an important "social and physical entity." Kuban, however, accepts as the core group of the neighborhood the mosque, the market, and the mansion–palace. No bath *hamam* is mentioned. This may be a simple oversight. No *mahalle* of the historic city was ever complete without its bath or baths. Considering that the baths in the city numbered in the hundreds (some 237 are recorded by Haskan 1995), the logic of including the bath in what I had termed the "urban trilogy" along with the mosque and the mansion appears necessary. Kuban 1996, pp. 207–210. For a recent study of Istanbul *hamams*, see Haskan 1995. For a typical ethnographic assessment of bathing in the Turkish-Ottoman culture, though treated typically in non-architectural and non-contextual terms, see Lewis 1971, pp. 112–114. More exotic, but equally without spatial emphasis, is the early 18th century *hamam* description by Montagu 1994, p. 58.

40   The restoration of a small bath associated with a modest *konak* in an old Istanbul neighborhood is the center-piece of the story in Ferzan Özpetek's evocative, cross-cultural, 1997 movie *Hamam*.
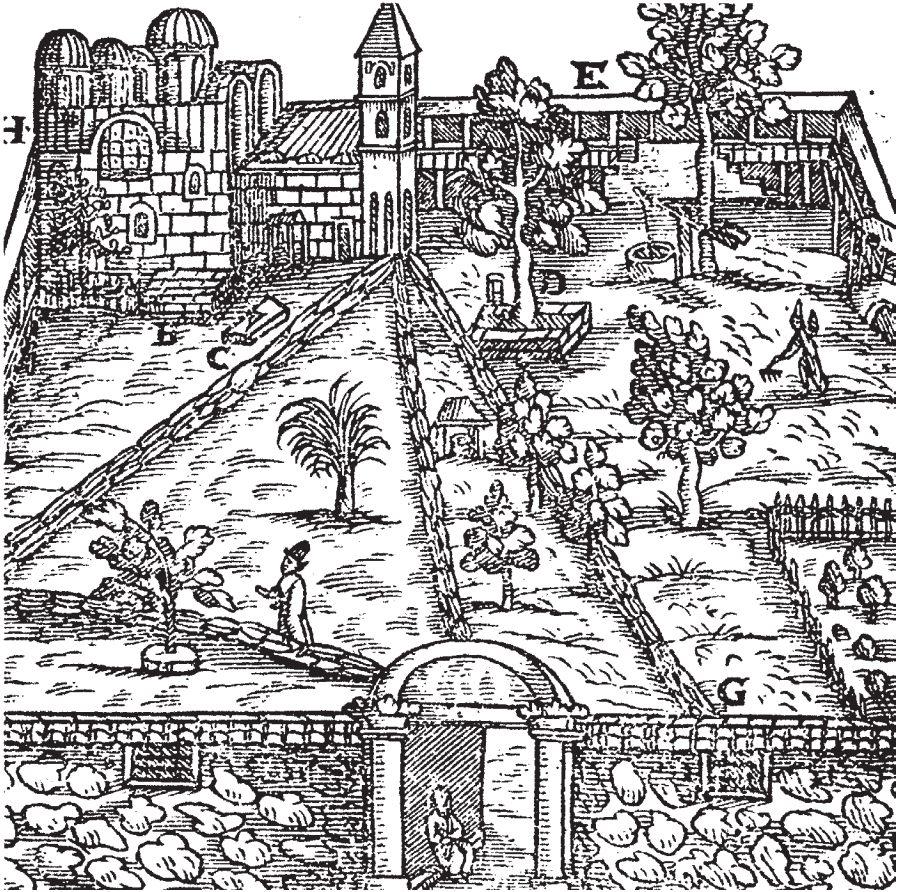
Fig. 11.8   Monastery of Pammakaristos (engraving by Schewegger, 16th century)

Outside of Constantinople, in many cities and settlements across Anatolia and Syria, public baths were integrated into the social and Christian lives of communities. Large regional centers like Antioch must have had many balneae as well as larger thermae. Malalas, writing in the mid-6th century, names a dozen or so dating from the Imperial period; no doubt many more were added in Byzantine times. Interestingly, none of those mentioned by Malalas, named after emperors or governors, can be identified with the six baths excavated in Antioch by the Princeton Expedition in 1932–1936.[41] To take one very modest example, at Serdjilla, in northern Syria, the

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41   Antioch's special contribution to a Late Antique eastern type of bath was the development of a distinctive, boxy, spacious, high-roofed "social hall" (which had made its appearance earlier among some Imperial Roman baths in Greece, such as those in the Sanctuary of Poseidon in Isthmia). Unfortunately, none of the baths of Constantinople is known on the

Fig. 11.9   Kucuk Mustafa Pasa Hamam (near Sultan Selim Mosque), Istanbul, late 14th c. (author)

Fig. 11.10   Baths and Inn with plaza, Serdjilla, Syria (author)

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ground sufficiently well to assert whether the 'hall type' was popular, or whether it was even known at all, in this eastern metropolis. See: Yegül 2000, pp. 146–151. For Isthmia baths and the issue of the "hall type" bath, see Yegül 1993, pp. 101–113.

bath was the virtual center of town life. Located on a distinctively designed paved plaza next to the village fountain and village inn, this remarkable architectural ensemble was donated in 473 by one Julianos and his wife Domna[42] (Fig. 11.10). In Gerasa, in southern Syria, a 5th-century bishop named Plaucus constructed a bath with an open-air swimming pool as an adjunct to a religious complex, though not necessarily restricted to the use of the clergy.[43] In Thebessa Khalia, in distant Algeria, a 5th-century suburban complex of vast proportions combined several Christian basilicas, farm buildings, and commercial facilities with a well-designed small bath. The large tholos of these baths could have doubled as an entrance hall, a frigidarium, and, perhaps on ad hoc basis, a baptistery.[44]

Bathing for health reasons, especially in thermo-mineral baths, continued to be popular in both the East and West into the Middle Ages. Some thermal sites in Anatolia established during the Roman period are still bringing relief to local populations. One well-known example is the thermal site called Pythia, the modern Yalova, located on the southern shore of the Marmara. As reported by Eusebius, Constantine might have sought relief here in his last days. The popular site, conveniently located on the route from Constantinople to Bithynia, was endowed by numerous Byzantine emperors and Ottoman sultans with numerous independent baths and with hot, natural pools.[45] Since Ancient and Medieval medicine depended heavily on hydrotherapy for preventive and curative measures, the permissive position of the Church made sense. Yet, church authorities felt the need to be specific about the medical intent of bathing, and lost no time in denouncing the atmosphere of pleasure and sin that might easily surround a popular spa, such as Baiae, the famous thermal city in the Bay of Naples. Hammat Gader, another famous spa in Syria, second only to Baiae in combining medicinal bathing, pleasure, and sensuous enjoyment, was described disparagingly by Epiphanius as a place where the devil was likely to set his snares since men and women bathed together.[46]

Temperance in bathing habits, a changed bathing style and, hence, a changed bath type, were among the significant reflections of Christian attitudes towards bathing. The pagan notion of bathing as a quotidian celebration of the body was replaced by a Christian one of weekly visits. Important changes were made in the physical plant. Since Christianity vehemently rejected athletics and the gymnasium, the Christian-Byzantine bath, like its Islamic-Turkish successors, did not have a palaestra for exercise. The palaestras of baths built during the Roman period were either obliterated, or paved in stone and converted into civic spaces, such as plazas. This was the kind of use, one must imagine, assumed by the great palaestra of the newly built Baths of Zeuxippos. Another characteristic change was the gradual

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42 Yegül 2000, pp. 329–333. See also Butler and Prentice 1901, pp. 62–76.

43 Fisher 1938, pp. 265–269, pl. 53; Jones 1928, p. 168, no. 34.

44 Yegül 2000, pp. 243–246; Boucher 1954 pp. 165–185, esp. 171–172; Christern 1976, pp. 145–151.

45 The site of the hot springs to the southwest of Yalova might have been called Hellenepolis, after Constantine's mother. Eusebios, *VC* 145.14–18; Berger 1982, p. 74; Smith 1971, p. 291; Lefort 1995, pp. 211–212, see also p. 360.

46 Yegül 2000, p. 121; Epiphanios, *Panarion Haereses*, 30.7.

disappearance of the Classical frigidarium, with its large, communal cold pools. Bathing in cold water was not easily tolerated in Christian and Islamic communities, and the communal pools used for total immersion, cold or hot, were replaced by individual basins. The reasons for this change were partly the result of modesty, but mainly economic, on account of the need to conserve water in an era of diminishing funds and services. Over time, the Classical frigidarium became a pragmatic combination of an apodyterium, public lounge and a social hall.[47]

While it is hard to piece together an accurate picture of the bathing culture of Constantinople over its 1,123 years of Byzantine history, it is even more difficult to connect this "bathing life" with the few actual baths we know from Ancient sources or archaeology. Yet informative, fascinating, but random glimpses into the social use and significance of baths in the life and culture of the city emerge from occasional and often unconnected written or anecdotal evidence—simple lists, descriptions, glorifications, references, allusions, anecdotes, and memories.

Let us again start with the Baths of Zeuxippos. Endowed by a pagan emperor (Septimius Severus) who changed the face of the city, and renovated 130 years later by another ruler (Constantine) who changed the face as well as the substance of the empire and established a new world capital, these baths were a civic monument for reasons other than just their size. The fact that Constantine neither demolished nor simply ignored the aging bath which occupied prime property in the heart of the city, but enlarged it, enhanced it, and embellished it with an impressive collection of Classical statuary inspired by the cultural and literary traditions of the Classical world, speaks volumes concerning the reception and conception of public baths in the socio-political climate of the Christian state in its formative years and concerning its cultural ideals.[48] Facing a large plaza on the way to the Chalke, the monumental vestibule of the Great Palace, the Zeuxippos baths were an important way-station on the emperor's ceremonial return route to the Palace (see Figs. 11.5, 11.6). On some occasions, such as Easter Monday and the mid-Pentecost Wednesday, emperors stopped and performed ablutions, thus linking the baths with court ritual. Inaugurated on the 11 May, the city's 'birthday,' the destiny of Constantine's showcase was linked with the politics and public life of his city. In a mid-4th-century plot to depose the popular Bishop Paul, the Patriarch was shown his arrest warrant in the Baths of Zeuxippos, and in order to escape the mob waiting outside, secretly conducted from the baths through connecting passages to the safety of the Palace. In 680, a monk named Polychronis, who claimed to raise the dead, was asked by the ecumenical and state authorities to demonstrate his powers in public, "in the courtyard of the public bath called the Zeuxippos."[49] Conceived in broader terms, the Baths of Zeuxippos,

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47   Yegül 2003, pp. 55–72, esp. 59–60; Berger 1982, pp. 86–102.

48   Although the sculptural décor of the Baths of Zeuxippos appears to have conformed to the themes appropriate for baths in general, Bassett finds the inclusion of portraits in this bath particularly distinctive because "representations of local citizens, traditionally a prominent feature in the programs of important public baths, were eschewed in favor of the great literary, philosophical and political figures of Graeco-Roman antiquity." They were, in effect, seen as the "embodiment of [Classical] paideia." Bassett 1996, pp. 491, 506. See also n. 25.

49   Mango 1959, pp. 38–44, 77.

and no doubt many other baths that occupied prominent positions in the city, provided a kind of civic harbor or gathering place, an institutional place of linkage, where sacred and profane, exclusive and everyday, fact and symbol met and merged, in a way that could not happen in the official palace, basilica, or circus. As observed by Erkal, the bathing traditions embraced by New Rome were neither merely pagan nor merely Christian, but part of an imperial patrimony inherited by Constantine and his followers, upon which they could embroider their urban values and programs.[50]

The study of baths and bathing through time in Byzantium, Constantinople, and Istanbul is a cogent and exciting undertaking, because the institution of bathing (and the architecture of the bath) was in a changing state of reinterpretation and re-evaluation, its nature and fortunes evolving around multiple social and physical dimensions of place, time, intent, and usage. The importance of the characteristic neighborhood groups has already been underscored; they connected religious and social structures, the church, the mansion, and the bath. This evocative picture can be highlighted by an account of an imperial and a religious ceremonial in Byzantine Constantinople which included bathing. Our sources mention that baths were a significant part of the famous Blachernae Complex, in the beautiful location of the Sixth Hill, overlooking the Golden Horn where the Theodosian Wall meets the water (Fig. 11.1, #24). The complex included the Blachernae Palace, a royal basilica, and the Church of the Mother of God. All were arranged around an enclosed courtyard accessible to the public. Although it evolved as the glorious residence of the Comnenian emperors during the 11th and 12th centuries, the importance of the complex as a site for pilgrimage and religious ceremony goes back to the middle of the 5th century, the time of the foundation of the basilical Church of the Theokotos, second only to Hagia Sophia in sacredness. The baths, associated with the basilica, were built soon after in 581.[51]

The church and the baths were often visited by the emperors on Fridays as a part of a quasi-religious ritual of purification and regeneration—concepts already inherent in the Classical meaning of bathing. The procession started when the emperor and his retinue arrived by boat at the Blachernae harbor, and were greeted at the gate of the walled district by dignitaries, priests and people. First, there was a ceremony at the basilica, including the revealing of the holy veil (*mapharion*) of the Virgin. In a building connected to the basilica the emperor put on a gold-embroidered, ceremonial bathing costume, and attended a lengthy reception at the Triconchos, a three-apsed 'Hall of Ceremonies.' In this vestibular space, forming a link between the church and the bath proper, and probably connected to both, the emperor prayed before icons preserved in the apses, sprinkled them with holy water, and burnt incense. He then received soap from the bath-master, and proceeded to the bath quarters. Upon the completion of bathing, he was presented, in an antechamber, with fresh towels and a new costume. He walked back to the Triconchos to preside over a procession which ended in a reception. During the reception ceremony, the

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50 Erkal 1995, pp. 113–115.

51 Janin 1950, pp. 124–126, 211–212; Guilland 1969, I, pp. 347–351, 545–550; Mango 1993, pp. 1–5; Kuban 1996, pp. 160–162; Müller-Wiener 1977, 223–224; Dirimtekin 1959, pp. 18–31; Arseven 1989, pp. 162–164. See also Ebersolt 1921, pp. 44–53.

names were announced of citizens who were to be the recipients of the emperor's generosity in gifts of gold. The ceremony culminated in the emperor's immersing himself in the sacred pool three times, an act evoking baptism.[52]

This remarkable urban ceremony, staged between the church and palace, placed the bath at the intersection of the two, and hence breathed new life into the Classical tradition of bathing. Discontinued only sometime after 1204, the ceremony may also have provided an element of cultural continuity and a link to the future of bathing in Islamic Istanbul. Was it some distant, cherished communal memory, was it planned imperial propaganda based on the sympathetic understanding of royal traditions, or was it sheer coincidence that prompted the Ottoman sultan to engage in similar Friday outings, in a magnificent ceremony called *selamlık*, which consisted mainly of visiting some major mosque in full public view? The bathing, however, would have been conducted prior to praying (as a necessary part of it), but in this case in one of the traditional private *hamams* inside the palace.[53] The sultan would have donned the gilt-embroidered *peştamal* and would have accepted the soap, the horse-hair mitten, and the silver bath-bowl. He would have completed his bath with Islamic ablutions, finishing by pouring water over his head and shoulders three times. Wrapped in fresh towels, he might have lingered a moment or two in the lounge, or the *soğukluk* of the baths, taken a cup of coffee, and even accepted a few petitions, before setting off on his outing. He would have traveled on horseback or by imperial carriage (sometimes by royal boat), accompanied by his troops and guards, and he would have been greeted by the district's dignitaries, and escorted to the mosque for the all-sacred Friday prayers. With the pious public ceremony completed, on his way to his carriage, the sultan (or his royal exchequer) would have gladdened the well-wishers lining the street by sprinkling silver coins.[54]

Small neighborhood baths, whether as independent establishments, or as part of an urban group, occupied a fundamental and abiding place in the lives of successive communities, because the culture of bathing belonged neither to the Church nor to the State, but to a "place between". Owned, used, and liked by all, they were ensconced in the values and symbols of the city. Inclusive, attractive, and intensely urban; subtly adaptable to the changing needs of economy and ideology; and capable of reflecting regional and local identities, these neighborhood baths created the perfect stage on which different peoples of the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman societies could share the same unifying physical space and emotional well-being, and, perhaps, the same humanizing ideals of a cosmopolitan and integrated community. Such continuities of urban tradition shared between Greeks, Turks, Armenians, and Jews, even when sketchily reconstructed as I have attempted to do, portray something unique about

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52 Berger 1982, pp. 82–83; Janin 1969, pp. 161–171. *Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos*, 2.21 ; Preger, *Scriptores*, III, 107. See also Berger 2001, pp. 73–87, esp. 32.

53   For the various baths of the Topkapı Palace, and their use by the sultan and his entourage, see Necipoğlu 1991, pp. 124–132; 172–173. There are admiring descriptions of these baths and their glittering, luxurious interiors with large pools, marble interiors, and superb İznik tiles by Islamic or European sources, which read like the encomia of Ancient Roman baths by Classical authors.

54 Mansel 1995, pp. 42–44.

Constantinople-Istanbul. In a world only now waking up to the values of what it has already lost of its historical patrimony and continues daily to lose, I believe the memory of such precious traditions will be appreciated by the friend and honoree of this paper whose own sensitivity to, and appreciation of, the Turks' and Greeks' shared Mediterranean past has been a source of inspiration for me.

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The Panagia Myrtidiotissa:
The Changing Image of a Kytherian Icon

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Abstract

The icon of the Myrtidiotissa ("Our Lady of the Myrtle") has been the palladium of the island of Kythera at least from the 17th century. A series of wondrous events have been attributed to its miraculous powers, and the tales told about it reveal that it has played a central role in the creation of the islanders' identity. The icon can be classified as belonging to the well-known "Hodegetria" type, though its most arresting characteristic, at least for the past few centuries, is that the Virgin and the Christ-Child have featureless, black faces. Mass-produced copies of this icon may date back to at least the mid-18th century. This paper looks at how these representations have changed, how the odd facelessness of the two figures (in the context of the iconography of the wider Orthodox world) has been dealt with, and how the particularity of this Kytherian icon has been conveyed. These issues are examined against the backdrop of the islanders' interactions with the broader world, their perceived place within the Ionian island group, their use of the changing image of this "aniconic" icon as a symbol of their Kytherian identity, and the expectations of what an icon of the Virgin should be in the Greek world at the turn of the 20th to the 21st century.

In the early years of the 21st century, passengers who boarded the ferry *Myrtidiotissa* that plied the routes which connected the island of Kythera with the southern ports of the Peloponnese, Kastelli on Crete, and the Piraeus would have seen an icon that carried an inscription which identified it as a version of the palladium of the island ,[1] the icon of the Panagia Myrtidiotissa. Those who were familiar with

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1   For the icon see the websites: http://www.mirtidiotissa.gr/eikona.html (entitled "Myrtidiotissa of Chios" and http://www.oramaworld.com/product_info.php/products_id/10280/language/gr/p. Throughout this paper the ancient (and revived) name of "Kythera" is used for the island, despite the fact that it would have been known to most of the people who lived during the centuries of concern here by its Venetian name of "Cerigo" (or its variants), e.g. in the late 18th- and early 19th-century chronicle kept by Gregorios Logothetes (Tsitsilias 1994, p. 175 [entry for August 27, 1792]) and in portolans (mariners' manuals) and isolaria (compilations of descriptions of islands with accompanying maps) (Nani-Mocenigo 1911, pp. 8–9; Tolias 1999, pp. 193–197 nos. A.M. 4.3, 4.4, 4.6, and 4.7. However, variants of "Kythera" also occur in this category of evidence too, e.g., Gautier-Dalché 1995, 146 ll.1200–03, 147 ll.1238–43; Delatte 1947, 87 l.11, 216 ll. 8 and 13, 268 l.16, 269 l.1, 270 l.16, 292 ll.3 and 5). Note, however, that the Office written in honour of the Panagia Myrtidiotissa

the actual Kytherian icon, or who knew it through photographic reproductions, may well have been surprised by what they saw, since the version on the ship differed only minimally from the myriad of icons of the Virgin known to members of the Orthodox Church, and did not share in the most salient feature of the palladium.

Fig. 12.1   The icon of the Virgin Myrtidiotissa, Myrtidia, Kythera

refers exclusively to Kythera and Kytherians (*Akolouthia* 1744, passim), and that the name "Kythera" could be used for the island in official legal documents of the period (e.g. Seremetes 1962, pp. 131–132, 135, 137 [variant], 138). Furthermore, "Kythera" and its variants were used in representations to identify the local saint Hosios Theodoros: Gkine-Tsophopoulou 1989–1991, p. 184.

The icon known as the Myrtidiotissa, which, over the centuries has been kept in a church, later expanded to become a monastery, at Myrtidia in the south of Kythera, or in a church in the castle of Chora, is characterized by one arresting detail which, as will be argued below, can be traced in the available sources at least as far back as the 17th century: the faces of both the Virgin and the Christ-Child are black, featureless planes (Fig. 12.1). The icon is as close to an aniconic object as an Orthodox icon can be. The aim of this paper is not to offer an explanation for this feature, an exercise which may not be possible without cleaning and scientific testing, or, at the very least, without the removal of the metal revetment which now covers all of the icon except the Virgin's and Christ's black faces.[2] Rather, the aim is to examine the process through which representations of this icon, or, at least, those interpreted and accepted as such, changed through the centuries, the most recent manifestation being that displayed on the ferry *Myrtidiotissa* at the time of writing.

The Kytherian icon portrays the group of the Virgin and Christ-Child in the Hodegetria type, where the Virgin is shown from the waist up. The Hodegetria was, and is, one of the most venerable types employed in the representation of the Mother and Child; it has been argued by some that its roots stretch as far back as the pre-iconoclastic period.[3] In the particular case of the Myrtidiotissa, the icon shares in the version of the type, which is more formal, and even "hieratic," in pose, as the Virgin is straight-backed, and, if her features were there to be seen, she would look out at the viewer, gesturing with her right hand toward Christ whom she holds in her left. The Christ-Child is also positioned so as to look straight at the viewer. On these formal grounds, the Myrtidiotissa can be identified as following the specific type for which B.V. Pentcheva would exclusively reserve the title "Hodegetria."[4]

Although the position of the Virgin's and Christ's heads firmly establishes the severely frontal nature of the composition, our conception of the secondary details of the Kytherian icon is now formed by the details of its metal revetment. The present revetment is a work of 1837, replacing an earlier one,[5] and it is unknown how it relates iconographically to its predecessor. Indeed, an earlier silver and gold revetment is attested for the icon in 17th-century records.[6] At the top corners on either side of the crowned Virgin, the present revetment shows an angel, each of which holds an

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2   It may be noted that the faces of the Mother and Child on the icon of Our Lady of Częstochowa, the national palladium of Poland, were also featureless, and only after the icon underwent cleaning and conservation in the 1920s were their features revealed once more, see Maniura 2004, pp. 10–15. The study by Durand-Lefebvre (1937) is primarily dedicated to western European Black Virgins; those connected with the Byzantine tradition are largely excluded from consideration (pp. 43–47), and the Myrtidiotissa does not appear in her catalogue (pp. 11–39). For the tale of a black-faced icon of the Virgin included in the village lore of the southeastern Peloponnese, see Kain Hart 1992, pp. 216–217.

3   Freytag 1985, pp. 264–265; Babić 1994, p. 200; Tatić-Djurić 1995, p. 562; Angelidi and Papamastorakis 2000, p. 377.

4   Pentcheva 2004, p. 196. For the process through which the "Hodegetria" type might receive different epithets, see Babić 1994, pp. 209–212.

5   Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαὶδεια 1966, pp. 217–218 s.v. "Μυρτιδίων, Μονή" (N. A. Phoropoulos); Kaloutses 2000, p. 59; Lourantos 2003, p. 235.

6   Maltezou 1989, p. 275. See also *Akolouthia* 1744, pp. 31, 34.

extended scroll carrying excerpts from the Akathistos Hymn. Below the angel on the left, stands a full-length figure of David, and below that on the right, Solomon. On either side of the Virgin, there is a myrtle branch which refers to the circumstances of the discovery of the icon (see below). The Christ-Child holds an orb in His left hand, and bestows a blessing with His right. The predella, the zone below the main field of the revetment, carries three separate scenes, each referring to a miracle attributed to the Panagia Myrtidiotissa. From left to right: the discovery of the icon; the Raising of the Cripple, an incident which took place at Myrtidia; and the protection of the castle of Chora from a lightning bolt.[7] At least in the instance of the predella of this revetment, it can be shown that pictorial elements have been added to whatever was represented on the icon as originally found.[8] This is most clearly so in the case of the third miracle, recorded as having taken place in 1829,[9] though the other two scenes also relate to events in the history of the icon at time of its discovery, and since. The predella scenes, with their exclusively local content, clearly highlight the importance bestowed upon the icon by the Kytherians as an active symbol of their island: the Virgin, in her guise of the Myrtidiotissa, as protector of Kythera.

The early history of the icon is opaque. Its discovery is normally placed within the earlier part of the Venetian period of Kythera's history,[10] though supporting documentation would be most welcome. The account of its discovery is known only through a pious legend which relates that it was found—after the Virgin's intervention—by a humble shepherd amongst myrtle bushes at Myrtidia.[11] Thus the epithet of the icon, which may be translated into English as "Our Lady of the Myrtle," reinforces the account of its discovery and its topographical association with the island. Official Venetian records offer some information on the icon, and on the church and monastery which were built to house it on the site where it was discovered. In an inventory ordered to be compiled in 1675, the monastery at Myrtidia is attested under the name of "convento della Madonna di Martiri à Mertidhia," and the icon itself as "La sacra imagine della Beata Vergine Maria de Martiri."[12] In the 1680s, the icon was transferred to the Latin garrison church in the castle at Chora, where it continued to be an object of veneration, and was taken to Myrtidia only on specified feast days.[13] A reference to the icon is to be seen in the claim made in 1720

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7   Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια 1966, pp. 217–218 s.v. "Μυρτιδίων, Μονή" (N. A. Phoropoulos).

8   In this paper, "original" icon refers to the black-faced images enclosed in the 1837 revetment, with all its details.

9   Kaloutses 2000, pp. 79–81.

10   Chappet 1912, p. 139; Kasimates 1983, pp. 316–317; Charalampides 2002–2003, p. 269; Lourantos 2003, p. 233 (where the possibility that it was found in the latter part of the 12th century is also entertained, but without any supporting argument). Anonymous [Ch. S.] 1857, p. 2 appears to place the discovery of the icon in an earlier period still, and on p. 5 relates that some attribute it to St. Luke. Daniel Varypates-Chryseas, in his chronicle entry dated 2 July 1887, argued, on the basis of a now lost fragmentary inscription, that the icon was found in 1446, see Kalligeros ed. 1998, p. 11.

11   See most conveniently Kaloutses 2000, pp. 53–55.

12   Maltezou 1989, pp. 274, 275 n. 23.

13   Maltezou 1989, p. 275.

by Marc'Antonio Bon, Provedittore and Castellan of the island, that the garrison and populace were saved from famine by "la regna de ciele, protetrice dell'isole," who caused a grain ship to put into the harbor.[14] That the Venetian authorities were well aware of the importance ascribed by the local population to the icon and to the monastery at Myrtidia can be shown by official correspondence of 1783, which refers to candidates for the position of abbot of the monastery, in which the icon is described as the "sacra immagine della Beata Vergine di Mertidia."[15] There is no doubt that the Venetian authorities resident on the island were as sensitive to the icon as the Orthodox population. Indeed, the icon probably provided an important channel of communication between the two parties, and it is known that Venetian officials dedicated votive offerings to the Panagia Myrtidiotissa,[16] and so played a role in the development of her locally-acknowledged importance and authority.[17]

Little information regarding the icon and its special appearance is offered by early travelers; the majority simply did not disembark on Kythera, and the primary interests of those who did lay elsewhere, mainly in the Classical associations of the island.[18] In 1744, Alexander Drummond visited the Ionian Islands, and he is one of the few travelers who made mention, though not sympathetically, of the locals' religious art. On Zakynthos, he was struck by what appeared to him to be the generally dark features with which the Virgin was portrayed:

> The Virgin Mary is often represented of a blackmoor's complexion: a proof that the Greeks deviate from propriety as well as the Romans: indeed this is not to be wondered at, considering how much more deficient they are in all sorts of knowledge.[19]

Drummond passed but did not actually step ashore on Kythera. As interesting as his observation is, it refers generally to Greek images of the Virgin. He wrote about what he perceived to be a dark complexion, but not the kind of featureless faces encountered on the Myrtidiotissa. One may wonder if Drummond's impression of the icons' color was reinforced by old examples which may have darkened with age. It has been argued that the painter of a 17th-century standard, identified as that of Francesco Morosini, reproduced just such an image.[20]

Toward the end of the 18th century, a few decades after Drummond's journeys, André-Grasset Saint-Sauveur visited Kythera during a lengthy stay in the Venetian-held islands. Although it was quite out of keeping with the practices of most other westerners, he nevertheless commented relatively extensively in his writings on the Myrtidiotissa. He knew the traditional story of its discovery, that the islanders

14   Patramane 1998, p. 583.

15   Sartori 2000, pp. 78–80.

16   Offerings: Maltezou 1989, p. 275. For the relationship between Venetians and icons in Greek lands: Georgopoulou 1995 and Maltezou 1998.

17   Similarly, for Venetian input into the local cult of Hosios Theodoros, see Gkine-Tsophopoulou 1989–1991, pp. 182–185.

18   See further Vingopoulou 2003; and Broodbank, Burnett, and Davis 2004.

19   Drummond 1754, p. 96.

20   Vokotopoulos 1981, esp. p. 271.

attributed numerous miracles to it, and the fact that it was kept behind a grill secured with three locks. Furthermore, he wrote:

> Cette effigie est peinte sur bois; lors de sa découverte, il ne restoit déjà plus que les têtes de la vierge et de l'enfant Jésus. On a complétté le tableau en plaques d'or; il a été ensuite placé dans un cadre enrichi de pierreries.[21]

Saint-Sauveur noted that only the heads remained, and that they were framed in a rich revetment.[22] While he did not specifically note that the Virgin and the Christ-Child had featureless faces, the fact that so little remained of the painted icon leaves open the possibility that the surviving "têtes" were indeed featureless; he does not mention "visages." In 1826, Frank Marcet visited the monastery, and recorded in his diary an account of the discovery of the "portrait miraculeux de la Vierge" and of the efforts made by the inhabitants of a number of islands, primarily those of Kythera, to build a church to house it, but nothing more on the icon itself.[23] Toward the middle of the century, John Davy mentioned the monastery, but only as a topographical reference point that allowed him to position the geological features in which he was interested.[24] His negative attitude to the church and local religious practices of the Greeks, probably shared by many of the western visitors[25] (including from 1809 British administrators), goes a fair way to explaining their lack of interest in icons, even in an example as singular as the Myrtidiotissa.[26]

It might have been expected that those Greek travelers who wrote accounts of their journeys would have been more sensitive to the strange nature of the Myrtidiotissa had they known of the icon. These were far fewer in number than their western counterparts. Most, such as Andronikos Noukios ("Nikandros of Kerkyra") and Iakovos Miloïtes in the 16th century, and Marc'Antonio Cazzaïti (writing in Italian) in the 18th, noted the island as they passed it by, but did not land.[27] By contrast, Dimo and Nicolo Stephanopoli actually did spend some considerable time on Kythera.[28] We might have expected them, as Corsican Maniates, to have been sensitive to the role played by the icon, but the account of their period on the island, prepared for publication by "un des professeurs du Prytanée" (who remained anonymous)[29] is

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21   Saint-Sauveur 1797, p. 342, and so echoes some of the points noted in the *Akolouthia* 1744, pp. 34–35 (see below).

22   For a 17th-century account of a revetment on the icon, see Maltezou 1989, p. 275.

23   For the text, see de Pourtalès 1915, p. 480. A note at the end of *Akolouthia* 1879 and *Akolouthia* 1894 attributes the building of the church to the inhabitants of Kythera alone.

24   Davy 1842 I, pp. 72,75.

25   Davy 1842 I, pp. 324–325; II, pp. 40, 147.

26   For the dominant British view of, and the engagement with the Orthodox Church on the Ionian Islands, see Gallant 2002, pp. 32, 38–39, 177–214. For the exceptionally rare occurrence of British sympathizers and converts to Orthodoxy, see Ware 2006, where the case of the (secret) conversion of the Fifth Earl of Guilford is examined.

27   For Noukios' text, see Foucault ed. 1962, p. 174. For Miloïtes' text, see Papageorgiou 1882, p. 638; for Cazzaïti's, see Phalmpos 1972, pp. 33–34, 45 , 52.

28   *Voyage Stephanopoli* 1800, pp. 99–174.

29   *Voyage Stephanopoli* 1800, title page. For the identification of the editor as Antoine Sérieys, see Chatzepanagiote 1996, p. 659. Chatzepanagiote (esp. p. 661) attributes large parts

in fact a novella aimed at praising the values of the Enlightenment, France, and the ancient past of Greece. Dimo's answer to his beloved's question as to which saints he recognizes, "J'en connais quatre; Sparte, Athènes, Thèbes et la France,"[30] left no room for what the Stephanopoli may well have considered—as their editor most definitely did—to be backward superstitions, the Myrtidiotissa no doubt included.

Dionysios Pyrrhos, though, is another matter. The learned cleric and *iatrodidaskalos* found refuge on Kythera for a brief period in the mid-1820s,[31] and he wrote an account of his stay in which the Myrtidiotissa plays a central role. It was before this icon, as he informs us, that he prayed for divine intercession in the progress of the Greek revolution. Pyrrhos, in effect, set out his program in his prayer, and in so doing established his patriotic credentials vis-à-vis those of the local bishop, whom he labeled, albeit in a footnote, as *philotourkos*.[32] The Myrtidiotissa plays an important role in the development of Pyrrhos's narrative, but it is an incidental detail which he provides that is of concern here. He does not give a detailed description of the icon, but simply states that it "is painted on copper" (... χαλκὸν ἐζωγραφισμένην ...).[33] Given that he mentions neither the rich revetment (a feature which attracted Saint-Sauveur's attention) nor the precious dedications presented to the Myrtidiotissa, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Pyrrhos' primary concern in this text was to emphasize the dark or, indeed, faceless nature of the Virgin and Christ-Child, and he either explained this feature, or had it explained to him, as a result of the icon's being painted on copper. In a more systematic description of the island Pyrrhos provides further information. He emphasizes the blackness (κατάμαυρος) of the Virgin's and the Christ-Child's faces, a phenomenon which he attributes to the icon's age and to its being made of copper (χάλκινος), and covered in precious metal. Furthermore, in this text Pyrrhos baldly writes that neither the Virgin nor Christ is discernible: "τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Θεοτόκου δέν φαίνεται, οὔτε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ."[34] The black nature of the icon is corroborated by the writer of an anonymous tract, written on Kythera, published in 1857. While discussing the icon, the text states that the faces of the figures are of an unknown and incorruptible metal, and that its color "tends to black."[35]

This survey of the relevant written sources known to me does not yield a rich harvest. The icon definitely existed in the 17th century (as is also clear from liturgical texts, see below), and its local Kytherian associations are emphasized. Saint-Saveur,

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of the work, including the account of the Kytherian sojourn, to Sérieys's re-working of the reports by the Stephanopoli, as well as to his own imagination.

30 *Voyage Stephanopoli* 1800, p. 113.

31 Leontsines 2000, p. 141.

32 Pyrrhos 1848, p. 111 n. 1.

33 Pyrrhos 1848, p. 108 par.165.

34 The text of Pyrrhos' *Κύθηρα Νῆσος Σερίγον* can be found in Leontsines 2000, pp. 154–173. On page 165 the icon is described as "...ἅπασα καταμελανωμένη ἀπό τὴν πολυκαιρίαν, καὶ ὅλη κεχρυσωμένη" (f.186). On page 170 "ἡ εἰκών αὐτή εἶναι ὅλη χάλκινος ... ὅλη κατάμαυρος ἀπό τήν πολυκαιρίαν. μ' ὅλον τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Θεοτόκου δέν φαίνεται, οὔτε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." (f.193).

35 Anonymous [Ch.S.] 1857, p. 5 "...ἡ δὲ ἀκτιναστράπτουσα αὐτῆς ὄψις τείνει εἰς τὸ μέλαν." See too Delikovias 1915, pp. 248–249 for a similar description.

in the late 18th century, provides the most complete account which emphasizes these two points. The featureless nature of the Virgin's and the Christ-Child's faces may be inferred from Pyrrhos' first text, and is confirmed by his second; it is furthermore supported by the 1857 tract. It is, of course, conceivable that the "tends to black" qualification in the latter text could suggest that some facial features were discernible in 1857, and that they were lost only subsequently. It is, however, equally possible that the author purposely chose to understate the black-faced nature of the icon, and so make it accessible to a wider Orthodox milieu, given that his major aim in writing the tract was to argue that the Myrtidiotissa was equal in stature with other more widely known Orthodox relics. The fact that Pyrrhos describes the icon as κατάμαυρος (which may be translated as "pitch-black") supports the view that the two visages were totally black in the 1820s, as does his comment that the "σχῆμα" of neither the Virgin nor the Christ-Child could be seen.[36] Nothing in Saint-Saveur's account argues against the view that this was also the case when he saw the icon in the late 18th century, though if this was so, he did not specifically comment on it, possibly because his primary focus fell on the rich revetment.

The other important written testimony to the icon is, of course, the *Akolouthia* of the Panagia Myrtidiotissa, written by bishop Sophronios in the second quarter of the 17th century. This text differs greatly both from the official Venetian documents and from the travelers' accounts mentioned above, as it was used directly in the religious services associated with the icon. However, it too testifies to the existence of the icon, and to its importance to the island. Nonetheless, the *Akolouthia*, which was first printed in 1744,[37] was deemed inadequate by Sophokles Kaloutses 300 years after its composition, on the grounds that it did not sufficiently praise the Virgin of Myrtidia as the protector of Kythera,[38] even though it includes multiple references to Kythera, Kytherians and Myrtidia.[39] Kaloutses proceeded to compose a new version, which is the one currently in use. Throughout this text, there is a plethora of references to the island and to the islanders, to the favor shown to them by the Panagia Myrtidiotissa, and to her icon.[40] An unbreakable link is forged between the Virgin and her icon on the one hand, and between Kythera and the Kytherians on the other. This is, undoubtedly, the reality that is also lived by believing islanders,[41] and is graphically

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36   See Leontsines 2000, pp. 165, 170. The term *schema* may be best translated as "form" or "features."

37   *Akolouthia* 1744. See also Chappet 1912.

38   Kaloutses 2000, p. 10.

39   *Akolouthia* 1744, pp. 5, 6, 10, 11, 14, 15–16, 17, 19, 20, 22. A similar phenomenon can be seen in an early 18th-century *akolouthia* written on Kerkyra, in which numerous references to that island establish the links of the honored saint (Nicholas) with Kerkyra: Tzivara 2006, esp. p. 214.

40   Kaloutses 2000, e.g., pp. 19, 25, 26, 29, 31, 33.

41   Note that the Kytherian administrative charter of 1800 (Καταστατικός Χάρτης Πολιτικῆς Διοικήσεως Κυθήρων) opens with lines that attribute the establishment of order on the island to Almighty God, as well as to "Our Lady Theotokos Myrtidiotissa who always protects and safeguards this island" ("...ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου Μυρτιδιότησσας ὁπού πάντοτε προστατεύει καί διαφυλάττει τοῦτο τό νησίον"). For the text, see Leontsines 1991, p. 415. Kytherian communities in the diaspora regularly placed the

expressed in the 1857 tract where Kythera is established as being equal to the larger and more populous islands of the Ionian group, because the icon of the Myrtidiotissa is of the same caliber as the relics of the patron saints of Kerkyra, Zakynthos and Kephallonia.[42] Kaloutses' *Akolouthia* also makes reference to, and formalizes, the black and featureless faces of the icon (*...Μέλαιναν μορφὴν τῆς Εἰκόνος Σου...*).[43]

These texts, and the icon itself, show that it is anchored not only to its place of discovery (Myrtidia), but equally to the island of Kythera as a whole. Once a year, over the week following Easter Sunday, the icon is carried in procession throughout the island, and thus the islanders employ it as a vehicle to cement the links of identity between the occupants of every village and the icon, while simultaneously reinforcing the sense of the island as a a unit that coalesces around the nucleus of the Panagia Myrtidiotissa and her icon.[44] The complicated links between holy images and particular sites have received comment in numerous contexts.[45] The icon of the Myrtidiotissa is yet another case in point. In many instances the icon can stand as a synecdoche for the island of Kythera itself,[46] though to do so beyond the island,

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Myrtidiotissa, her feast day, copies of the icon, and churches dedicated to her, at the center of their corporate activities. For early attested examples: Strategos 1923, pp. 365–366, 371, 375–376 (Smyrna/Izmir and environs), 370–371 (environs of Proussa/Bursa); Kontoleon 1923, pp. 276, 279 (New York). It has been stated that the Monemvasian bishop of Kythera, Philotheos Damaros, introduced the Panagia Myrtidiotissa to his native town (Kalogeras 1955, p. 26; Andritsane-Photiade and Petrocheilos 1982, p. 186, n.2), thus the link between the island and the new region to which the Myrtidiotissa's veneration was introduced was established through a personal conduit connected to Kythera.

42   Anonymous [Ch. S.] 1857, p. 1. The importance of the icon is also expressed in the belief held by some islanders that it was painted by the same hand as the great icon of the Virgin at Mega Spelaion: Delakovias 1915 [2004], pp. 248–249. The dedication of Kytherians to the Myrtidiotissa did not, and does not, mean that they were insensitive to other miracle-working images of the Virgin, as is shown by a report on Tenos of the miraculous cure of a Kytherian woman in 1864: Pyrrhos 1865, p. 22 "Θαῦμα 7."

43   Kaloutses 2000, p. 37.

44   For the circuit of the island: Kasimates 1983, pp. 365–366. Leontsines 2003, p. 216 suggests that this practice may have started toward the end of the 18th century, a period during which Kytherian society underwent important changes. For a discussion of the importance of such processions, see now Seraïdari 2005, pp. 184–190, 226.

45   For a clear exposé, though concerning a very different period and religious tradition: Elsner 1997, p. 182. For contemporary Greece: Stewart 1991, pp. 90–91; Kain Hart 1992, pp. 1, 7; Dubisch 1995, pp. 242, 245.

46   See, e.g., the geographical/demographic study by Giagkakes 1994, p. 3 where the Myrtidiotissa's links to the island are noted (along with Kythera's ancient associations with Aphrodite), despite the fact that the religious life of Kythera is of no interest to the author of this work. The perception in contemporary Greece of the special link between an island and the manifestation of the Virgin specific to it is well illustrated by an article, "Οι Παναγίες των Νησιών"/"Virgin Mary of Each Island" in the public forum of the trade magazine *Τουρισμός και Ανάπτυξη*/*Tourism and Development* 12, August 2006, pp. 39–43. Such pieces both reflect and reinforce the popular understanding of this phenomenon. The appearance of such an article in a trade magazine provides evidence that local manifestations of the Virgin can at times act as symbols for their place of origin, and that the possibility exists that local authorities or agents

non-photographic copies must be recognizable as the icon. For this to be achieved, the copies must retain at least a minimum of its salient features, since icons of the Virgin holding the Christ-Child are legion. The Myrtidiotissa, like other icons with topographical epithets, or especially revered in specific areas, draws an important part of its relevance from the fact that, while it is linked to a particular locale, it also forms part of the belief system of a far wider community. The icon of the Panagia Myrtidiotissa never ceases to be a representation of the Myrtidiotissa, even as it always remains a representation of the Panagia acknowledged by all Orthodox believers (and Latins as well in the Venetian period).[47]

The most salient feature of the Myrtidiotissa, at least over the past few centuries, has been the blackness of the Virgin's and the Christ-Child's faces. This is what primarily differentiates it from other icons. The myrtle branches are another element unique to it, though not as immediately obvious (or confronting for the unexpecting viewer) as the faceless personages which they flank. The Hodegetria type should also be considered as an important characteristic, but one that is shared with many other icons. The actual name of the icon, Myrtidiotissa, is also a defining element. It is through the interplay of these formal characteristics that any non-photographic copies may retain a link with the icon venerated at Myrtidia.

The icon displayed on the ferry *Myrtidiotissa*, which services the routes to and from Kythera, is arresting, because it deviates so thoroughly from its purported prototype.[48] In other words, it lacks some of the most important formal qualities of the Myrtidiotissa, as outlined in the previous paragraph.[49] Neither the Virgin (who does not wear a crown) nor the Christ-Child (also without a crown) have black featureless faces. Rather they are painted in a manner fully consonant with what is probably the dominant style in current Greek icon painting. Furthermore, the actual positional relationship of the figures differs from their "hieratic" arrangement seen in the Hodegetria type, employed for the "original" Myrtidiotissa. On that icon a stiff and severe frontality is manifest. The new icon on the *Myrtidiotissa* retains the general type of the Hodegetria, with subtle, though significant, differences. The Virgin bends her head toward the Christ-Child, while He looks up to her and raises His right hand toward her. In place of the orb He holds a scroll in His left hand.

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can attempt to interest non-locals in their region by projecting their palladium, because its efficacy is available to all believers.

47   Again see Elsner 1997, p. 194 for a similar phenomenon in pagan antiquity. For the contemporary Greek context: Stewart 1991, pp. 34–35. Sophronios' *Akolouthia* clearly links Kythera and Kytherian believers with the wider Orthodox world: e.g., *Akolouthia* 1744, pp. 6,11. See also the letter of Emmanuel Mormores to Anthemos, Bishop of Kythera, which precedes the actual office in *Akolouthia* 1811, pp. 1–2.

48   At http://www.mirtidiotissa.gr/eikona.html (31 October 2006) the icon is identified as "λαϊκότροπος", "popular," and identified as that of the Myrsinidion Monastery on Chios). At http://www.oramaworld.com/product_info.php/products_id/10280/language/gr/p/ it is identified as the work of "Ι. Νέας Σκήτης", probably a monk–I[ερομόναχος]—of Nea Skete, Mount Athos.

49   For the importance of formal iconographic links between prototype and copy, see Elsner 1997, pp. 185, 188–189; and Maniura 2004, pp. 161, 164–165.

These changes establish and emphasize a far more intimate relationship between the two figures than the one apparent in the "original."

Indeed, the only two formal characteristics that the new icon retains are the painted title "Η ΜΥΡΤΙΔΙΩΤΙΣΣΑ," and the myrtle branches which have now multiplied, as if to compensate for those formal characteristics which are missing. Only these two features link it with the icon at Myrtidia;[50] the first literally spells out the link, the second refers graphically to the circumstances and place of its discovery, and thus to its title. The viewer with knowledge of the "original" icon encounters a new Myrtidiotissa which must be considered, and either accepted or rejected, depending on how attached he or she is to the missing formal elements. A novice has little option other than to accept it.

Such a clear break with the iconography of the "original" icon requires some explanation, which must start with a survey of earlier representations of the Myrtidiotissa. Legrand records that some copies of the 1744 and 1789 editions of Bishop Sophronios' *Akolouthia*, printed in Venice, carry a frontispiece that illustrates the icon; Petit, while noting later editions which include a print, does not refer to a print in copies of either of the earliest editions.[51] The copies I have been able to consult of these editions do not include such an illustration. The earliest frontispiece known to me appears in the third printed version of the *Akolouthia*, that of 1811 (Fig. 12.2). It, of course, predates the revetment that now adorns the icon. In this early print, the icon is presented in a rectangular frame, the top and sides of which are decorated with richly rendered myrtle branches. The Virgin is crowned by two angels, and is labeled by the inscription "Η ΜΥΡΤΙΔΙΟΤΙΣΣΑ." Her head is slightly bent toward the Christ-Child.[52] The composition lacks a predella. The facial features of the Virgin and Christ are indicated, but direct reference is made to the nature of the original by darkening their faces in a manner in which those of the angels are not. In this case, the position of the figures is slightly altered as they are not as severely placed as on the "original,"[53] but the main formal characteristic of the icon, the black faces, is acknowledged, though at the same time a concession is made to the wider public's expectation of what an icon should look like, by the inclusion of facial features. It could be argued that the shaded faces could simply be meant to indicate an icon which has blackened with age,[54] not one on which the facial features are lacking. The testimony of Dionysios Pyrrhos (who saw the icon in the mid-1820s) and of the anonymous tract of 1857 would indicate otherwise. It may be further noted that no other contemporary prints of old icons, in which the faces

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50 This is also true of recent representations of the icon executed as church murals. See the three-quarter length Panagia Myrtidiotissa and Child at the church of Aghios Spyridon in the Athenian suburb of Nea Ionia: http://www.byzantineiconography.gr/el/gallery/st_spyridonas.asp

51 Legrand 1910, pp. 100 no. 329 (1744), 152 no. 490 (1789). Petit 1926, pp. 167–168, nos. 42a–42b.

52 *Akolouthia* 1811, frontispiece.

53 This seems to be a common feature of 18th- and 19th-century prints of the Hodegetria; see Papastratou 1987, pp. 122–130, nos. 104–121.

54 This has been suggested for the icon represented on a 17th-century standard, see Vokotopoulos 1981, esp. p. 271.

Fig. 12.2   Frontispiece of *Akolouthia* 1811.

Fig. 12.3   Print of the "Virgin Myrtidiotissa" by Gabriel of Skopelos. Reproduced
with permission from the National Art Gallery and Alexandros Soutzou
Museum, Athens. Source: Papastratou 1986, p. 186 no.185.

Fig. 12.4   Icon of the "Virgin Myrtidiotissa" signed by Stephanos in/of Kythera. Reproduced with permission from the Museum of Byzantine Civilization, Thessalonike. Source: Zapheiropoulou 2001, p. 68 no. 84.

of the portrayed personages may have darkened as a result of age, are as heavily or completely shaded as are those on the Myrtidiotissa prints.

A number of other editions of the *Akolouthia* followed (published in Smyrna, Kephallonia, Constantinople, Athens, and the Piraeus); some included representations of the icon while others did not.[55] That of 1894 is a simplification of the 1811 print; the myrtle branches are not as luxurious, the drapery of the figures is simplified, as are the secondary decorative details, such as the scroll in the Virgin's halo. Otherwise, the composition is the same, except that the label "Η ΜΥΡΤΙΔΙΟΤΙΣΣΑ" runs in an arc above the Virgin's head.[56] The difference in color between the faces of the Virgin and Christ-Child and those of the angels is retained.

While these frontispieces were not originally produced as paper icons, there are grounds to believe that examples of this genre could on occasion be separated from the texts which they accompanied and so acquire an independent character.[57] However, paper icons of the Myrtidiotissa did appear. One known example, in an oval frame, dates to 1879 and is the work of the monk Gabriel of Skopelos (Fig. 12.3). It is believed that it was produced either on Hydra or on Mt. Athos.[58] On this paper icon, the only salient features which are retained are two myrtle branches, one on either side of the Virgin, and the title, which is qualified by the word "ΚΥΘΗΡΩΝ;" and so it is translated as "The Myrtidiotissa of Kythera." There is no indication whatsoever that the figures on the "original" have featureless, or even darkened faces. It also differs from the "original" in that the Christ-Child holds not an orb, but a tome.

The printed editions of the *Akolouthia* served the liturgical needs of the church, and the inclusion of a print of the icon provided the text with an added immediacy. This development can be seen in the wider context of 18th-century and later church administrators, who used the print medium to increase the fame of the icons they had in their care. This was even more so in the case of independent paper icons;[59] and as the fame of an icon spread, so the conditions were laid for further reproductions to be produced.

Parallel to the printed versions of the icon, painted copies were also produced. One of these is signed by a certain Stephanos "in/of Kythera," and bears the date of 1841 (Fig. 12.4).[60] This work is a more faithful rendition of the "original," despite the fact that the Virgin and Child are flanked on the left by Saint Nicholas and on

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55 Tsitsilias 1994, pp. 158–159, n.101 provides a listing of these editions, to which must be added Legrand 1910, p. 647, no.3147 (=Petit 1926, p. 170 no.42i) and Papadopoulos 2002, p. 277 no.9573 (Petit 1926, p. 171 no. 42m).

56 *Akolouthia* 1894, frontispiece.

57 Makrymichalou 1975, p. 202. Printers based in Venice might subsequently produce as independent paper icons illustrations initially intended for religious books: Papastratou 1987, p. 19.

58 Papastratou 1987, pp. 186 no 185; Provatakes 1993, p. 287 no. 548.

59 Veloudis 1974, p. 65; Gkratziou 1993–1994, p. 318.

60 Zapheiropoulou 2001, p. 68 no. 84 (A. Tourta), Χεὶρ Στεφάνου τῶν Κυθηραῖς (grammatically idiosyncratic). Note, too, that small copies of the icon may have been held as charms; evidence for this is in Logothetes' chronicle entry for 4 April, 1814: Tsitsilias 1994, p. 109 (though for doubts that this detail was included in Logothetes's original text, see Stathis 1923, p.363 n. 1).

the right by Saint Hadrianos; and the predella carries three small icons of Saint George, Saint Charalambos, and Saint Demetrios. The choice of these particular saints was surely that of the commissioner. The Virgin is crowned by two angels, and she and Christ are flanked on either side by a myrtle branch. Importantly, the Virgin and Child are painted in a frontal and formal stance, both looking toward the viewer. Furthermore, the faces of both are blackened, though their facial features are shown, as on the prints that were included in editions of the *Akolouthia*. It is of some significance that on this icon the faces of the Virgin and the Christ-Child are blackened, while those of the introduced saints can be characterized as being "realistically" portrayed. The faces of the angels are of the same yellow color which is used to represent the revetment, including the hands of the Mother and Child, and as such they copy the details of the 1837 revetment. It may be that, in those works, be they painted icons or prints which had more direct links with the island, the icon was portrayed with greater verisimilitude. The fact that Stephanos included items of votive jewelry which adorned the "original" indicates that this suggestion is in all probability true in the case of his icon. Importantly, Stephanos included facial features, despite the fact that Pyrrhos explicitly stated that features were not visible.

A painted version of the Kytherian icon, now at Koumeïka on Samos, testifies to a possibly older presence of the Myrtidiotissa beyond Kythera.[61] The Virgin and Christ-Child are not shaded, so the identification of the prototype is secured by a myrtle branch on either side of the Virgin, and by a label actually identifying the icon as the Myrtidiotissa.[62] Other features that the image shares with the Kytherian icon include the orb which Christ holds, the formal stance of the two figures, and the crowning angels. Generally, the iconography is not very distant from the frontispiece of the 1811 *Akolouthia*, though on the latter the Virgin and Christ-Child are shown in a more intimate pose. Although a local oral tradition that offers an account of the origins of the Samian icon does not make any reference to Kythera, the inclusion of the myrtle branches and of the scenes in its predella illustrating a miracle performed by the Panagia Myrtidiotissa on Kythera makes the link certain. As Ch. Koutelakis has argued, the Samian oral tradition has incorporated elements of the story of the Kytherian Myrtidiotissa,[63] and by doing so has appropriated the icon, which is now an important agent in the local community. It may be noted, though, that the tradition offers no explanation, either for the name of the icon or for the myrtle branches that flank the Virgin. The clear iconographic references to Kythera suggest that this icon was possibly commissioned by a Kytherian, or someone intimately acquainted with the Myrtidiotissa's story, and so indicates either that he or she did not think

61   Koutelakis 1999, p. 164 would date it as early as ca. 1700–1720. If so, it would provide some evidence that the Kytherian icon had not blackened by that period, but it is not known if the painter and/or commissioner intended to render this detail faithfully even if it had. Koutelakis 1999, p. 175 for a photograph of the icon.

62   The actual field of the icon is framed at the left and the right by a vertical field with a floral scroll.

63   Koutelakis 1999, esp. pp. 168–170.

it imperative that the Virgin and Child be shown with shaded visages, or that the painter could not be convinced to portray them so.

Elsewhere, knowledge of the Myrtidiotissa spread beyond Kythera, possibly even before the advent of printed representations. Veneration of the Myrtidiotissa and an icon on Zakynthos identified as hers is said to have been introduced to that island as early as the beginning of the 16th century.[64] The icon around which her veneration centered was destroyed in the earthquake of 1953, though its silver revetment of 1816 survives. It bears an inscription which identifies the icon as the Myrtidiotissa (η Θεοτοκος καλουμενη μυρτιδιωτισσα).[65] A new icon, purportedly reproducing the details of the earlier one, was subsequently placed within the early 19th-century revetment.[66] On the basis of pre-1953 photographs, it is clear that the Zakynthian icon does not share in the strict frontal formality of the icon on Kythera.[67] On both icons the Virgin is crowned by angels, though little else links the two works. A small floral spray at the bottom of the left-hand corner of the Zakynthian revetment is probably best identified as a decorative element rather than as a deliberate representation of a myrtle branch. That a link with the Kytherian Myrtidiotissa was acknowledged by Zakynthians, at the very least in the early 20th century, is illustrated by the fact that the Zakynthian icon was associated with the miracle of the Raising of the Cripple at Myrtidia, as well as by the hymns composed at that time in her honor that associate her directly with Kythera.[68]

An icon on Kephallonia, known as the Panagia Myrtidiotissa, illustrates the complicated nexus of personas religious images could take on. The icon is actually a copy of the Virgin of Kykkos, and apparently received the appellation "Myrtidiotissa" only because it reached Kephallonia directly from the monastery at Myrtidia in the early 19th century. So firm were the icon's links with the Kytherian manifestation of the Virgin that the rituals involved in the Virgin's veneration were adopted wholesale from those of the Kytherian Myrtidiotissa.[69] It is more than likely that the monastery on Kerkyra which is known as that of the Myrditiotissa also owes its name to the introduction of the veneration of the Kytherian Virgin at that site. This name is first attested in 1808, where it is used alongside an older one, Φανερωμένη στὸν Τρίαλο.[70]

It is not the aim of this paper to catalogue every occurrence of the Myrtidiotissa on or beyond Kythera, but rather to underline the point that, as knowledge of the icon was disseminated beyond the island, its very iconographical type was frequently

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[64] Konomos 1973, p. 54; Phlemotomos 2003, pp. 362–363, where it is speculated that the icon may have reached Zakynthos from Crete. Konomos (1989, p. 92) dates the icon to the 17th century, though there is no guarantee that it received its epithet at the time of its commission/painting.

[65] Konomos 1973, p. 54; Phlemotomos 2003, p. 367.

[66] Phlemotomos 2003, p. 366.

[67] For the photographs, see Konomos 1989, fig. 77, and Phlemotomos 2003, pp. 377–378.

[68] Konomos 1973, p. 54; Phlemotomos 2003, pp. 367–368,371.

[69] For this icon and its Kytherian connections, see Pephanes 1861, pp. 3, 7; Demponos 2003, pp. 90–92,96.

[70] Tzivara and Karydes 2004, p. 19.

altered.[71] This is true equally of printed as well as of painted representations.[72] In most instances, the pious accounts of the establishment of the Virgin of Myrtidia's veneration beyond the island make direct reference to Kythera. The published account of the erection of a chapel to the Myrtidiotissa on Kea in the earlier part of the 20th century does not make such a reference,[73] a fact that may surprise many a Kytherian. Nonetheless, the technology available in the 1960s (the time of the publication of the account) allowed a photograph of the Kytherian icon to be included as the frontispiece, thus marking the connection to the informed reader.

The survey of representations of the Kytherian icon of the Myrtidiotissa offered above shows that they could bear significant differences from that of their purported prototype. Those with strong links with Kythera, such as the frontispieces in editions of the *Akolouthia*, may make direct reference to the "original," by means of the shaded faces of the Virgin and the Christ-Child, and by the myrtle branches, even if the Virgin's stance is slightly altered. Both these formal features are also apparent on the icon painted by Stephanos, possibly on Kythera. The icon now on Samos lacks the shaded faces, but retains the stance, the branches and the title. The paper icon of Gabriel of Skopelos bears a more distant relationship than the others, because it has altered the position of the Virgin and Child. The fact that it was actually felt necessary to state on this print that it was the "Myrtidiotissa of Kythera" underlines the distance that separates it iconographically from its purported prototype. It appears that the further removed from Kythera or a Kytherian context the representations were, the more they depended either on the myrtle branches or the title for their identification, rather than on the most striking of the prototype's features, the blackened or at least darkened faces. In this way, these reproductions of the Myrtidiotissa were aligned with "mainstream" Orthodox iconography, in which the Virgin and the Christ-Child are portrayed with full facial features. In reproducing these features, these representations answered the expectations of a wider audience.

This tendency may be seen in far more modern representations of the icon. The version painted in recent years by D. Tsilakes, and named "Η Μυρτιδιώτισσα Αλίμου" on the website of the Athenian suburban parish of Alimos, follows a middle path (Fig. 12.5).[74] The frontal stance of the figures is preserved, the Virgin is crowned by angels, there is a myrtle branch on either side of the composition, while it bears a predella with the same three scenes as on the 1837 metal revetment which covers the icon at Myrtidia. The faces of the Virgin and the Christ-Child are indeed darkened in comparison to the other exposed body parts of these figures and the angels. However, a concession has been made in that the facial features of the two main figures are indicated. This compromise formula is one that dates at least as far

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71   For preliminary surveys of the Myrtidiotissa beyond Kythera, see Koutelakis 1999, p. 172, n.14, and Charos 2003.

72   An appreciation, at least implicit, of the role that could be played by painters of icons intended to represent the Myrtidiotissa on Kythera is evident in Strategos 1923, pp. 375–376, where the great abilities of the painter of a mid-19th-century example are praised. These abilities, of course, reflect well on the individuals who commissioned the artist that possessed them.

73   Gregoriades 1968.

74   "The Myrtidiotissa of Alimos." See http://www.mirtidiotissa,gr/eikona.html

Fig. 12.5   Icon of the "Virgin Myrtidiotissa of Alimos."

back as the early prints which accompanied the printed editions of the *Akolouthia*, and may well be testified to by the icon of the Myrtidiotissa at Chalcedon (Kadikoy), which was especially revered by the immigrant Kytherians of the region, and which was also known at the beginning of the 20th century as Ἡ Μελαχροινή ,"The Dark One."[75] It is significant that the suburb of Alimos has received a considerable number of Kytherians, and that, at a time when the "original" is definitely black, an icon with the "compromise" formula was commissioned.

The real break is introduced by the icon type currently displayed on the ferry *Myrtidiotissa* (and earlier by Gabriel in his print). Here the marked inclination of the Virgin's head negates the austerity of the Hodegetria type altogether. Furthermore, the lack of a crown for the Virgin (and the Christ-Child as well) renders asunder another link with the icon venerated on Kythera. And, finally, there is no reference at all to the blackened faces of the "original." Any links to the Kytherian icon are reduced to the title and a near forest of myrtle branches, which offer to an unknowing (Greek-speaking) viewer a degree of explanation as to the title that the icon bears.

How could such a sea-change in the iconography of an icon of the Myrtidiotissa come to pass? The inclusion of the title and the myrtle branches of the newest manifestation of the icon allows a link to be established with the Panagia Myrtidiotissa, and so a share in its aura, glory, and efficacy, despite the lack of the other major formal features.[76] This is understandably an important goal for those responsible for the placement of the icon in a context like that of the ferry *Myrtidiotissa* that sails the Kytherian waters. But why abandon the strict frontality and, more importantly, the most distinguishing feature of the icon—the featureless faces?

Given that communities in contemporary Greece can employ local icons to define themselves,[77] indeed that their particularly honored saint or manifestation of the Virgin can come to stand for the community, the projection of this icon may be equated with the projection of the community itself. It is in such a context that accounts that amplify the antiquity, sanctity, and power of icons are circulated. One such stock account is that of a non-believer, most commonly a Muslim or Jew, who comes to acknowledge with thanks the powers of the image involved. Stories involving individuals of both of these confessions are told about the Myrtidiotissa.[78] Importantly, these stories, in effect, belong to, and reinforce a mode of communication recognized throughout the continuum of believers in contemporary Greece.

It is in such a context that the iconographical innovations, best exemplified by the icon on the ferry, to which the Myrtidiotissa has recently been subjected should be seen. For just as the oral and written stories which circulate among the faithful create a framework of expectations in which believers can interpret their encounters

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75   Gedeon 1904, p. 270.

76   For the importance of such formal links, see Kenna 1985, pp. 348–349. For the efficacy of copies and their wider relationship to the original, see Seraïdari 2005, pp. 101–107, 118, 132, 226–227.

77   Dubisch 1995, p. 274 with n. 9, 245.

78   Anonymous [Ch. S.] 1857, p. 9; Kaloutses 2000, pp. 89–90. For similar stories about the icon of the Virgin of Tenos: Pyrrhos 1865, pp. 12–13 "Θαῦμα 22" (Turk) and "Θαῦμα 24" (Roman Catholic), p. 22 (Turk) and "Θαῦμα 1" (Roman Catholic); Drosines 1883, p. 22 (Turks).

with the Virgin and saints, so do the iconographical representations. As stated above, the Myrtidiotissa retains the quality of being both the Virgin in general, and also the particular manifestation of the Virgin of Myrtidia. To this degree, believers acquainted with her specific story approach her with the knowledge that both expectations will be fulfilled. However, individuals who are unaware of the icon's actual appeareance are at a great disadvantage, for the blackened visages of the Virgin and the Christ-Child are beyond what they would recognize as characteristics of these figures, even if they make allowances for some local particularities in regionally important icons. It is probably for this reason that the compromise was adopted in the prints illustrating the early versions of the *Akolouthia*, of indicating, but then shading over the features of the faces of the Mother and Child. By these means, the expectations of the wider believing community are satisfied as to what an icon should be; at the same time, a true and loyal reference is made to the icon known by the Kytherians who had actually seen it. The importance attached to the expectations of the Orthodox community beyond Kythera is very effectively demonstrated by the illustration which accompanies the entry on the Myrtidiotissa in certain editions of a major Greek encyclopedia, which reproduces a photograph of the icon on which facial features have been crudely added to the featureless faces of the Virgin and the Christ-Child.[79] This comico-tragic detail highlights the importance of satisfying the expectations of the wider community in a meaningful way.[80]

The icon on the ferry *Myrtidiotissa* is well suited to satisfy those expectations, and the necessity felt by those responsible for its placement to satisfy them is further emphasized by the fact that they conscripted for this purpose an icon which some claim was painted not for the Kytherian Myrtidiotissa at all, but for a monastery on Chios established in 1887.[81] The Chian monastery was established by a monk who found an icon of the Hodegetria which he subsequently named "Myrtidiotissa," because a myrtle bush appeared at the spot to which it miraculously returned every night. A link with Kythera is retained by the Chian monastery, in that it too celebrates its feast day on 24 September,[82] but the icon itself does not share any features with

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79   *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* (n.d.) p. 17, s.v. "Μυρτιδιώτισσα" (S. Syrmopoulos) 884.

80   Similarly, in popular pious literature, the Myrtidiotissa can be discussed without any mention of the icon's true nature: Marinakes 2002, p. 409. Indeed, in that work it is possible that the author purposely glosses over the figures' black featureless faces, by stating that the Myrtidiotissa's face takes on a variety of pleasant aspects for those who approach her. For accounts of individuals who miraculously saw the features of the Virgin (and the Christ-Child?) when venerating the icon, see Kasimates 1983, p. 319 and Kaloutses 2000, pp. 99–100. In the popular work Ziompolas 2004, the icon is actually illustrated, but for readers who may be familiar with copies in which the facial features are shown, the author explains (p. 164) the icon's unexpected appearance by clarifying that the "authentic, historic" ("αὐθεντική, ἱστορική") icon is pictured.

81   For an account of the discovery of the icon and of the foundation of the monastery (also known as Mone Myrsinidion or Mersinidi), see: Chalkia-Stephanou 2003, pp. 107, 113. For the Chian links of this icon, see http://www.oramaworld.com/product_info.php/products_id/10280/language/gr/p/ and fnn. 1 and 48 above.

82   Chalkia-Stephanou 2003, p. 114.

the Kytherian palladium, other than its basic Hodegetria type.[83] In effect, the new icon, if its identification with the monastery of Chios is justified, blends features found separately on the two icons—the myrtle branches of the icon on Kythera and the facial features of the one on Chios—though the Virgin and the Christ-Child are shown in a more intimate pose than on either. This depiction well suits the purposes of those who wish to project the Kytherian Myrtidiotissa to a wider audience, and has been so used.

The inclusion of a photograph of the icon in the above-mentioned published account of the erection of a church dedicated to the Myrtidiotissa on Kea is exceptional, as it could be thought that those unfamiliar with the image would be at the very least surprised by it. It is, however, significant to note that the author of this text was not interested in presenting the Myrtidiotissa to a wider audience as a Kytherian manifestation of the Virgin per se. He had no vested interest in establishing this link, nor in appropriating some of the icon's reflected glory to Kythera. Rather, his aim was to extol the work of the Kean foundress of the new church, and he was able to achieve this by using the newly-available medium of photography to reproduce the icon. Any risk that the photograph might alienate his readers detracted neither from their appreciation of the pious work exemplified by the erection of the church on Kea, nor from the miracle that led to it.

The most recent version of the icon that carries the epithet "Η ΜΥΡΤΙΔΙΩΤΙΣΣΑ" aims at totally satisfying the expectations of the wider community. On the ferry *Myrtidiotissa*, the fact that some would identify it as an icon whose primary reference is a monastery on Chios, rather than Kythera, is overlooked (if it was indeed known by those responsible for its placement), given that it so effectively eliminates the potentially alienating aspect of the featureless faces. Simultaneously, however, it shares a title and the myrtle branches with the "original" Kytherian icon, so that an identification can be safely reached. Two other features of this icon practically guarantee that it will be as widely acceptable as possible in contemporary Greece: the style and the stance of the Virgin. Firstly, it is painted in what may be called a neo-Byzantine manner, the popularity of which in Greece has been commented upon over recent decades by a number of researchers, including the honorand of this volume.[84] Secondly, the manner in which the Virgin's head practically touches that of the Christ-Child caters to what may be a contemporary preference for more intimate images of the Mother and Child than that offered by the severe Hodegetria type, of which the "original" Myrtidiotissa is an example. This suggestion, that there is a dominant popular preference, may well be supported by the evidence offered by a series of stamps issued by the Greek post office in late 2005. The series consists of four stamps, all of which carry photographs of icons of the Virgin and Child dating from the 15th through to the 17th century. All show the figures in a tender embrace, and the Hodegetria icon is of the intimate type, rather than of the "hierarchical."[85]

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83 Chalkia-Stephanou 2003, p. 114 fig.37.

84 Kenna 1985, pp. 350–351; Spanaki 1993, pp. 164–165; Gerstel 2005, p. 331; Gregory 2005, p. 356, fig. 16.4.

85 See the pamphlet issued by Hellenic Post entitled *ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΜΗΤΗΡ ΘΕΟΥ*, and the promotional catalogue *Post Collection* (no. 1 April 2006) 9, where a composite icon comprising

It is my contention that the issuing of these particular images in the very public medium of postage stamps both reflects and reinforces the widely-held preference in contemporary Greece as to the norms to which an icon of the Virgin and Child should conform.

The icon displayed on the ferry *Myrtidiotissa* with which we started reveals these norms. This particular depiction of the Virgin may be thought to be well suited to such a liminal position as a ferry boat bringing passengers to Kythera, given that many of the individuals it carries are unacquainted with either the island or its most venerated icon. It can bridge the gap between their expectations of what the island's palladium (and the vessel's namesake) should look like and the reality. Nonetheless, these new developments have by no means gone unchallenged. In a purist vein, such iconographic innovations have been rejected in some quarters, and, in the Kytherian press, advertisements have appeared which cater to the more traditionally-minded, by offering for purchase copies of "The Authentic Icon of the Panagia Myrtidiotissa."[86] While a cynic may comment that the commercial availability of the various versions of the Myrtidiotissa allows for the exploitation of different "markets," the very reaction evidenced by the purist Kytherian response indicates that, for many believers, the "original" scheme offers a channel to the Virgin and Christ that is sanctioned by time and local Kytherian tradition, features which the newest version does not possess.

However, given that, in the past, Kytherians appear to have been satisfied with representations of the icon which showed the faces of the Virgin and Christ-Child shaded rather than black (witness the frontispieces of various editions of Sophronios' *Akolouthia* and the icon painted by Stephanos), or even naturally rendered (if the icon now on Samos was a Kytherian commission), the question arises as to the origins of this "purist response" that insists on totally faithful reproductions. The answer may well lie with the expectations formed by the new technology of photography. Over the past few decades photographic reproductions of the "original" icon have been available in a great variety of media, from the frontispiece of Kaloutses' *Akolouthia* to postcards. These mass-produced images have left their legacy; they have helped to create an appreciation of the "authentic" icon that encapsulates, for many, the Myrtidiotissa's links with Kythera.

Indeed, on the island itself, it is arguably the Black Virgin which one encounters with greater regularity, though she can also share the church or household icon shrine with versions of the Myrtidiotissa icon on which the visages of the Virgin and the Christ-Child bear darkened facial features, or even naturally portrayed faces. Developments in the Myrtidiotissa's iconography can be seen to have fed back onto Kythera. This is clearly indicated by the very headpiece of a bulletin, *Παναγία η Μυρτιδιώτισσα,* regularly published by the Diocese of Kythera, which consists of a

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the four icons represented on the stamps is also offered for sale. See Gounaris 2003, p. 70 for the procedure by which themes for stamps are chosen in Greece, as well as the importance of the imagery of this medium.

86   "Η Αυθεντική Εικόνα της Παναγίας Μυρτιδιώτισσας." E.g., *Κυθηραϊκά* Year 18, No. 196, October 2005, 5. The advertisements include a photograph of the icon which, in effect, results in the conflation of the original with the reproductions.

naturally colored Hodegetria Virgin and Child, both with full facial features, among myrtle branches.[87] Nonetheless, in issues of this very publication photographs of the "original" icon may appear, which present it, of course, in its "aniconic" nature.[88] Clearly, a field of expectation exists on the island that allows room for newer variants of the icon, though the newspaper advertisements for "authentic" reproductions of the original offer a challenge to these innovations which are characteristic of "mainstream" icons. In the past, variants may have been more readily acceptable, or at least they may have generated little comment. The photographic reproductions of the "original" and their wide distribution have created an audience, demonstrated by the advertisements for copies of the "authentic" icon, which is more sensitive to any iconographic innovations in copies of the Kytherian palladium. In effect, a purist tradition has been created that exploits and emphasizes the local knowledge of the original icon, and proximity to it. The interplay between the local and the specific on one hand, and the more general and wider expectations on the other, go a long way toward elucidating the iconographic changes undergone by representations of Kythera's most venerated icon.

Note

A number of publications that have appeared since the completion of this paper discuss issues directly relevant to it. The reader is referred to: M. Patramane, "Ὀρθόδοξοι καὶ καθολικοί στὰ Κύθηρα. Θρησκευτικὸ αἴσθημα καὶ λατρευτικὲς συγκλίσεις (17ος– 18ος αἰώνας)" *Νόστος* 4 (2007), pp. 147–138; E. Charou-Koronaiou, *Τὸ Προσκύνημα τῶν Μυρτιδίων*, Athens, 2007; and B. S. Charos, *Ὁδοιπορικὸ γιὰ τῆ Μυρτιδιώτισσα,* Athens, 2007.

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87 E.g., *Παναγία η Μυρτιδιώτισσα* April-May-June 2006, Year 4, Issue 14, p. 1. Also viewable at http://www.imkythiron.gr/content/section/4/85/lang,el/

88 *Παναγία η Μυρτιδιώτισσα* April-May-June 2006, Year 4, Issue 14, p. 3.

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The Archaeology of *Xenitia*: Greek-American Material Culture, 1873–1924

Kostis Kourelis

Abstract

One quarter of Modern Greece immigrated to the United States between 1900 and 1915, leaving traces of a rich material culture that has not been fully investigated. In addition to portable goods of daily and religious life, Greek immigrants invested in a variety of architectural spaces ranging from tenements and labor colonies, to new architectural commissions, churches, and houses. Drawing on recent field work in Greece and the U.S., this article serves as prolegomena to Greek-American archaeology and addresses greater theoretical issues concerning the discourse of migration, ethnicity, and modernity.

Introduction

One of the greatest demographic upheavals in Greece began in 1873 when masses of Greeks flooded into the United States in search of work. The movement was so widespread that between 1900 and 1915 no less than one quarter of adult Greek males had braved the transatlantic journey.[1] When the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 placed restrictive quotas on immigration, the next wave of Greeks entering the U.S. dissipated.[2] Hence 1873 and 1924 bracket a finite period of time when histories of Greece and America directly intersected. The demographic magnitude of this population shift left permanent marks on American society, evident in the foundation of Greek communities in every state and the unprecedented abandonment of the Greek countryside. Unlike other ethnic minorities of the U.S., not all Greeks naturalized; almost 40% of the half-million admitted to the U.S. before 1931 returned to their homeland.[3] Although *xenitia* ("life in the foreign land") has become an integral part of Greece's 20th-century national narrative, it has not received

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[1] The earliest documented member of this immigration movement was Christos Tsakonas, whose arrival in 1873 is credited as the "first"; see Saloutos 1964, p. 24. Greek immigration did not fully escalate into a mass movement until the economic and agricultural crisis of the 1890s; see Moskos 1989, p. 11.

[2] The second wave of Greek immigration occurred after World War II, especially during the 1960s.

[3] Saloutos 1956, p. 29.

the scholarly attention it deserves.[4] Caught between two nations and two separate academic traditions, the material culture of *xenitia* has slipped through the cracks. For Greeks, archaeology is defined as the study of antiquity, an endeavor deeply intertwined with the construction of the nation-state. Archaeology and modernity are hence mutually exclusive, leaving an insurmountable gap between New and Old World traditions.[5] In America, Greek archaeology is subsumed under the discipline of Classical Studies. Americans studying the Ancient Greek world are trained in an academic enclave that offers limited exposure to the archaeology of other periods and locales.[6] Surprisingly enough, most classical archaeologists have never used a spade in their own backyard. The possibility of Greek-American archaeology, therefore, seems to be condemned by both Greek and American institutions and attitudes. Our inability to design trans-geographic investigations is unfortunate, since archaeology commands the theoretical foundations and methodological techniques necessary for a full exploration of migration, ethnicity, and acculturation.[7]

This paper has a double objective: to introduce the topic of Greek-American archaeology through individual case studies and to evaluate how material culture has already been subsumed in the framework of immigration history. Admittedly, no archaeological project has yet been designed to deal with the Greek-American past. Nevertheless, three recent studies have touched on the artifacts of immigration and have independently dealt with its interpretive problems. The Morea Project, the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project, and Eleni's house in Lia offer the early rudiments of a new discipline. The overview of Greek-American archaeology presented here lacks a centralized narrative. Nevertheless, it hopes to present a prolegomena to a field that is otherwise absent in the scholarly literature. The essay will conclude with a defense of the archaeological method, as a necessary antidote to the current modes of presenting Greek-American material culture inside the walls of immigrant museums and under the auspices of melting-pot ideologies.

Archaeology I: The Morea Project

In the summer of 1994, a group of American archaeologists arrived at Leontio, a remote Peloponnesian mountain village, in order to survey its traditional architecture. The Morea Project included a diverse group of scholars and students, who collected the remnants of a disappearing traditional culture by surveying hundreds of agrarian

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4   For a discussion of the Greek *xenitia* in a larger historical context, see Clogg 1999.

5   For archaeology's historical dependence on modernity, see Jusdanis 2004.

6   For an overview of classical archaeology's "complacency and crisis," see Dyson 1989.

7   Timothy E. Gregory's scholarship has helped collapse the monopoly that antiquity has traditionally exercised over Greek archaeology. His anti-colonialist principles have cleared the way for an open-ended archaeology capable of incorporating issues of *xenitia*. This paper was inspired by Timothy E. Gregory's and Lita Tzortzopoulos-Gregory's pioneering research in the Korinthia and in Kythera.

villages and by drawing thousands of houses in the provinces of Eleia and Achaia.[8] Its objective was to collect evidence of folk life and to assemble an archaeological inventory of building traditions, masonry techniques, epigraphic patterns, and decorative motifs. Invented in the late 19th century, the scholarly discipline of folklore (*laographia*) posited pre-modern society as the repository of timeless ethnic traditions endangered by modernity's onslaught.[9] Ironically, academic interest in vernacular architecture blossomed between 1908 and 1935 at precisely the moment that many Greeks abandoned their stone houses and immigrated to America.[10] The Morea Project hoped to revise some of the romantic assumptions regarding folk culture by creating an empirical database of architectural evidence.

The project team confronted the most exciting surprise at the village of Leontio. Hidden amidst a variety of folk motifs (crosses, birds, rosettes, dancing girls, breasts), we found an epigraphic celebration of American patriotism. A limestone quoin on the corner of Leontio House No. 4 contains the word "AMERKA" carved in Greek capital letters. Below this text, the initials "N.S." flank a diagrammatic bird.[11] What is the significance of this American oddity in a traditional agrarian context, and how does this inscription challenge our assumptions of "traditional" Greek life? (Fig. 13.1)

Ordinary dwellings began to be decorated with carved stones in the mid 18th century. Placed in highly visible junctures—doors, windows, and corners—they commemorate the date of construction, and they guard the owners from evil in perpetuity. The N.S. initials in Leontio identify the patron, while the datestone above marks the foundation in 27 August, 1908, with a cross. The date, cross, and bird are common in Greek vernacular decoration, with thousands of examples recorded by the Morea Project. The AMERKA carving, however, is special. It links the mountain house with a distant land and tells a story that is much more complex than the straightforward illustration of native rural life. AMERKA is an inscription that testifies to the processes of modernity and specifically to the international transmission of resources across continents. Migrant workers regularly sent their earned savings from the U.S.; a sum of approximately $650 million passed into Greece between 1910 and 1930.[12] Leontio House No. 4 literally declares "America made me," inasmuch as "America paid for me." Like most Greek immigrants, N.S. never learned to read or write in English. Hence, he did not translate the word

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8   The Morea Project (1991–2000) was part of the Minnesota Archaeological Research in the Western Peloponnese. It was directed by Frederick A. Cooper and Joseph D. Alchermes, see Cooper et al. 2002.

9   For the history of Greek folklore and its ideologies, see Herzfeld 1986.

10   The Greek Folklore Society was founded in 1908 and initiated the systematic survey of folk culture. Aristotelis Zachos, Angeliki Hadzimihali, George Megas, and Dimitris Pikionis formalized the study of Greek vernacular architecture; see Philippides 1999, pp. 12–25.

11   Leontio is located 25 km southeast of Patras and 3.5 km northwest of Demesticha. The house is located at UTM coordinates 34S N4219330, E581157. Its general topographical environment can be seen on Google Earth at lat./long. 38°7'5.4" N, 21°55'33" E. For Leontio's domestic architecture, see Cooper et al. 2002, pp. 320–321. The Morea Project data are available online at http://clvl.cla.umn.edu/gis.

12   Moskos 1989, p. 31.
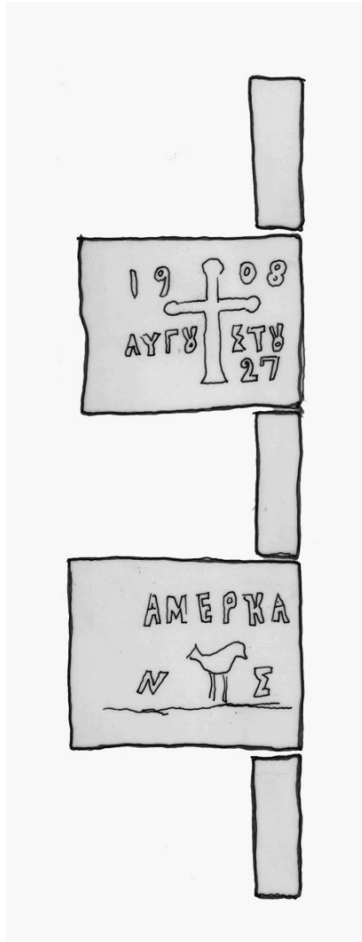
Fig. 13.1   Leontio, House No. 4. Corner quoins, carved limestone blocks. (Morea Project)

America from written English, but he transliterated it phonetically, which explains the missing "i" in "Amer[i]ka." The inclusion of a bird under the inscription, moreover, visually illustrates the patron's migratory story. While the practice of epigraphic commemoration on houses was already 150 years old in 1908, its subject here was entirely new. The sheer modernity of the inscription exhibits degrees of mutability that we rarely associate with vernacular practices.[13]

In addition to collecting architectural and artistic data, the Morea Project conducted oral interviews, in order to elucidate how architecture shaped the life-world of rural Greek villages. For instance, a 90-year-old widow still living in Leontio

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13   The phonetic vitality of the inscription, moreover, can be related to the aesthetics of modern signage, fragmentation, and collage exploited in the linguistic experiments of the avant-garde; see Perloff 1986.

House No. 4 provided useful information about past residents. As she explained, her husband bought the property from the original owner, whose name she remembered to be Nikolaos Skoutas (corroborating the N.S. initials on the quoins). According to the widow, Nikolaos Skoutas immigrated to America, but returned to Greece to fight in the First Balkan War (1912–1913).[14] Skoutas was part of a voluntary mass conscription in which some 45,000 Greek-Americans answered the patriotic call. Before leaving the U.S., the volunteers organized pro-Greek parades in American cities, trying to enhance popular opinion. In Greece, the units were received as national heroes and were showered with public celebrations. During such festivities, the immigrants raised American flags and banners marking the particular cities they left behind.[15]

Fig. 13.2   Leontio, House No. 3. Corner quoin, carved limestone block.

Although Skoutas constructed the house four years before his reported return in 1912–1913, the building across the street was built in wartime and celebrates this context accordingly. Leontio House No. 3 differs in every possible way from House No. 4. Its datestone of 8 July, 1913, is accompanied by a victory wreath and by a carving that reads "Rejoice Andreas" (*Chaire Andrea*). The inscription employs grammatically correct ancient idioms and letter forms (Fig. 13.2). It is not only

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14 Military conscription in Greece was called at midnight on 17 September, 1912. The First Balkan War was waged by a coalition of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro against Ottoman Turkey.

15 A retired American general describes the wild reception that volunteers received in Patras; see Hutchinson 1913, reprinted in Saloutos 1964, p. 112. Repatriation was not unique to Greeks. Hungarians, Serbians, Poles, Russians, Bohemians, Italians, and Bulgarians responded to the call-to-arms during World War I; see Saloutos 1972, pp. 13–15.

literate but also self-consciously literary. Derived from ancient athletic and funerary inscriptions, the laurel wreath and the textual formula were popular in patriotic images of Greece. The inscription was directly influenced by public funerary monuments and inscriptions.[16] House No. 3 is not associated with immigration, but its construction during the Balkan Wars affects a loftier and more formal expression. It copies national prototypes with academic and cosmopolitan aspirations. The AMERKA inscription, on the other hand, celebrates a less erudite experience through less eclectic means.

Most Greek immigrants entered the U.S. through Ellis Island, New York City's port. The Ellis Island database of arrivals from 1892 to 1924 allows us to trace the path of the Skoutas family.[17] Demetrios Skoutas, native of Leontio, entered Ellis Island on 30 June, 1912, aboard the *S.S. Martha Washington*. He was 28 years old and married to Chryssoula Skoutas.[18] According to the ship manifest, Skoutas had entered the U.S. once before in 1905 (but no record is available for this arrival). Skoutas declared the profession of laborer and a destination address in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, at the house of his brother-in-law Andreas Barkopoulos. Skoutas re-entered Ellis Island a third time on 20 July, 1914, aboard the *S.S. Ultonia*. Once again his destination was the house of his brother-in-law who, in the interim, had Americanized his surname from Barkopoulos to Barkos.[19] Further searches on the Ellis Island database reveal that the Leontians had congregated in Pawtucket, a textile town whose Greek community dates to 1896.[20] In 1910 the Greek population numbered 75 and by 1912–1913 the Greeks were prosperous enough to erect an Orthodox Church, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.[21]

The case of Demetrios Skoutas highlights the intricacies of immigration disguised under the simplification of a one-way trajectory. Demetrios Skoutas is documented as a thrice-immigrant, but no Nikolaos appears in the records. Moreover, no other Skoutas lists Leontio as his origin. Such a prosopographic discrepancy suggests that, despite the widow's report, N.S. may not be the individual in question but a relative (son, brother, or cousin) who received monetary support from America. The AMERKA inscription thus creates an intriguing problem regarding commemoration and ownership. Given the geographic ambivalence of immigration, who is the

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16   Laurel wreaths are found on Balkan War memorials throughout Greece. Inspired directly by Classical architecture, the wreath motif was internationalized in the late-18th and 19th centuries through Palladian, Greek Revival, and eclectic architecture in both public and vernacular buildings; see Middleton and Watkin 2003, p. 160, fig. 253, pl. XIV, p. 172, fig. 274, etc.

17   http://www.ellisisland.org.

18   Leontio's original name was Gourzoumisa. The Greek state renamed the village in the 1920s as part of a national campaign to replace Slavic and Turkish toponyms with names of Ancient Greek origin. An archaeological site near Gourzoumisa was misidentified as Ancient Leontio, and gave the village its new Hellenized name.

19   In the meantime, Barkopoulos had moved from 7 Ship Street to 23 Pawtucket Avenue.

20   Another example of Leontio émigrés is the Diamantopoulos family.

21   The original building was torn down in 1966. A new church was constructed at the present location. For the history of the community, see html://www.assumptionri.org.

author of the inscription, and who makes up its audience? The benefactor's artistic expression stands as proxy for his physical absence. The actual audience and beneficiary of economic and architectural patronage is not the immigrant but the village community (those left behind) who use, pass by, or "read" the house. The Greek immigrant operates in two realities: his patronage is directed simultaneously towards the homeland (via the foundation of family homes in Greece) and towards the new colony (via the foundation of church buildings in the U.S.)[22]

Assumptions about modernity and traditional society break down at this double juncture. In 1911, the Greek architect Aristotelis Zachos first theorized about the significance of Greek vernacular architecture.[23] For Zachos, village houses were the repository of a national spirit, retaining a Greek essence that had consistently resisted both foreign influence and modern corruption. The middle-class intellectuals who invented Greek folklore seem oblivious of the rural diaspora. They were themselves nomadic, navigating through the universities of Athens, Paris, Munich, and Berlin but dissociated from the large-scale economic exodus of their peasant compatriots.[24] Engulfed in writing the polemics of race and nation, the intellectuals missed the internationalist expressions emerging within the rural population. Skoutas may have been a traditional man, a peasant turned laborer, but his experiences were far from traditional. He witnessed modernity directly, he saw the building of skyscrapers, he lived in multicultural urban neighborhoods, and he organized around the politics of international labor. Thanks to the invisible hand of immigration, the Greek peasant was decades ahead of the very intellectual who reflected on him from the academic ivory tower.

Archaeology II: The Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project

If we continue reading Demetrios Skoutas's 1912 ship manifest, we come across a certain Georgios Meglis who lists his destination as Ludlow, Colorado.[25] Like many other Greeks, Meglis went to Colorado to work in the coal mines. Two years after his arrival, he must have witnessed the most famous massacre in American labor history. Here, the Greek union leader Louis Tikas, led a strike against the Rockefeller-owned Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. After eviction from the company town, the strikers built a tent colony of 1,100 inhabitants near the train depot. On 20 April, 1914, the Colorado National Guard opened fire against the colony in an action resulting in

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22 For a discussion of churches in the U.S., see Cutler 1972.

23 Zachos 1911; Hadjimihali 1925.

24 The Greek intellectuals of this period were deeply involved in the politics of national expansion (Macedonia, Asia Minor) and the demographic consequences they precipitated. Elias Venezis, Photes Kontoglou, and others were themselves refugees from the Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922. Their focus on incoming migrants (refugees) eclipsed their interest in outgoing migrants (émigrés); see n. 10, above.

25 Skoutas's entry is no. 7 and Meglis's entry is no. 10. One can visualize them standing in line to be recorded by a customs official.

20 deaths and the destruction of the camp.[26] Keenly aware of the strikers' ethnic makeup, the militia staged its attack on the day after Orthodox Easter. The Ludlow Massacre received national attention, forcing John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to initiate a formal investigation that led to long-awaited labor reforms.

Between 1997 and 2002, an archaeological team from Binghamton University, Fort Lewis College, and the University of Denver excavated the destruction site of the Ludlow Massacre. The group of Greek immigrants left behind distinct artifacts that provide insight into issues of ethnicity, daily work, diet, and life-style. The short life-span of mining towns provides a clear archaeological profile in contrast to continuously occupied immigrant destinations like Chicago, New York, or even Pawtucket, R.I.[27] Mining towns, moreover, are interesting from a sociological point of view, as modern urban constructions embodying all the tensions of ethnicity, class, race, and gender.[28] The presence of Greeks in Western mines has been well documented in historical sources, especially in Utah.[29] The 1924 mine explosion at Castle Gate, for example, is considered to be another landmark of labor history, encompassing a large number of Greek fatalities.[30] Greek-American evidence is being accumulated from the field of mine archaeology, including the 1992–1993 excavations at Reipetown, Nevada.[31]

The Ludlow excavation has been a model of how public archaeology can complement scientific research. Philip Duke, Randall H. McGuire, and Dean J. Saitta have used Ludlow to initiate conversations between academic archaeology and local communities, between history, labor, and commemoration.[32] The project's scholarly aim was to understand the daily life of an ethnically diverse group of Italians, Greeks, Mexicans, and African-Americans, a labor force hired as strike-breakers against an earlier group of Irish and British workers. Excavations at Ludlow have concentrated on the burned remains of the tent colony, the cellars, the latrines, and the trash dumps. By investigating "vernacular" rather than "official" history, the excavations have revised at least one assumption regarding ethnicity and gender.[33] Historians traditionally thought that male miners built labor solidarity with other groups in the

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26   For the history of the Ludlow Massacre, its repercussions and legacy, see Gitelman 1988. For the life of Louis Tikas, see Z. Papanikolas 1982.

27   "In many ways [the Ludlow Massacre site] is an ideal archaeological site—a short-term occupation, destroyed by fire, and then little disturbed afterward." McGuire 2004, p. 64.

28   For a good introduction to mine archaeology, see Knapp et al. 1998.

29   The late Helen Zeese Papanikolas made Utah the premier center of Greek-American studies, see H. Z. Papanikolas 1970.

30   It is suspected that the Klu Klux Klan was responsible for the Castle Gate mine explosion; see Notarianni 2002. Greeks were a frequent target of this group. The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA) was founded in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1922, to protect Greeks from nativist groups like the Klan; see Moskos 1989, p. 40; Anagnostou 2004.

31   Hardesty 1998, p. 92.

32   I thank Philip Duke for discussing this material with me and for his involvement with the A.I.A. Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeology in Greece Interest Group.

33   Duke et al. 2005, p. 38.

workplace, where a new class identity encouraged assimilation and helped erode ethnic particularities. Women, on the other hand, were thought to guard traditional culture and ethnic values because they remained at home in order to raise and educate the children. The material evidence from Ludlow proved the opposite conclusion. Ethnic differentiation was strongly maintained in the workplace, whereas the female domestic realm cultivated class solidarity and a modern identity; the Colorado Coal Field excavations have thus overturned the equations of "class=workplace=male" and "ethnicity=home=female."[34]

Comparisons between the tent colony at Ludlow and the miner homes at nearby Berwind illustrate tactics of resistance and adjustment. Margaret Wood has shown that families earned extra income by renting out space to single males, an activity documented by the numerous tin cans and large cooking pots used to feed the boarders. Unable to earn income from boarders during the strike, the miner wives saved money by producing their own food and relying less on bought cans.[35] There is also evidence that the miners used national brands to conceal foodstuffs produced by local farms. Since the company homes were subject to raids, the miners may have sought to protect the local businesses that supported the union cause.[36] A study of beer and whiskey bottles suggests that the company controlled leisure, rationing the quantities of alcoholic beverages. Unsupervised in the tent colony, the miners consumed greater quantities of alcohol. Further scientific analysis of the floral and faunal evidence will answer questions about the diet and nutrition of the immigrant miners. Much of the material excavated at Ludlow paints an ethnically uniform picture of social reality. Amongst the artifacts, however, some differentiation is discernible through objects of ethnic or religious significance. Cross medallions, for example, suggest a potentially Greek origin.[37] One particular assemblage is indicative of an Italian family and includes a suspender inscribed by the Society of Tyrolean Alpinists.[38] Clearly, the miners transported precious items from their country of origin, objects to be kept close to the migrant body. Those few portable items celebrated physically the maintenance of social and cultural belonging. The Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project is still in progress, and its artifacts have not been fully published. Even at this early phase, however, it illustrates the contextual realities of a unique Greek-American community, and it encourages comparison with other assemblages.

Archaeology III: Eleni's House

The third and final case study is less academic in character, but unique from literary and biographical vantage points. In 1983, the *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas Gage published the international best-seller *Eleni*, which described the life

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34 Ludlow Collective 2001, p. 99.
35 McGuire 2004, p. 70; Wood 2002.
36 Duke et al. 2005, p. 40.
37 Saitta et al. 1999, fig. 24.
38 Duke et al. 2005, p. 39.

of his mother, Eleni Gatzoyannis, who was executed in her village, Lia, Epeiros.[39] Gage's investigative memoir became the private portrait of a family ravaged by a decade of war. The book's international success, moreover, transformed Eleni's story into a paradigmatic portrait of hardships during World War II and the Civil War.[40] Eleni was arrested and executed by the guerillas because of her attempt to smuggle her children (the author Nicholas included) to the U. S. in 1948. Being the wife of an absentee émigré made her status in the village particularly vulnerable. Her husband had immigrated to Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1910. From there, he sent numerous gifts to his wife, including objects whose possession marked Eleni as the village *Amerikana*. The very objects of immigration victimized Eleni as an American sympathizer and as a target of the Communist guerillas. In general, there is little synthetic research on American objects transported to Greece during the early part of the 20th century. Popular culture has satirized the immigrant who returned in the 1950s and flaunted his status through dress, dialect, ostentatious behavior, and lack of cultivation. Despite such caricatures in literature and film, the impact of American artifacts in a Greek village setting has not been adequately understood. Diachronic field surveys have given attention to matters of modern migration, and Susan B. Sutton has made invaluable contributions in conceptualizing the spatial fluidity of migration and its architecture of abandonment.[41] The Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey is the only project systematically documenting trans-continental material in its symbiotic occurrence in Greece and Australia. Lita Tzortzopoulos-Gregory has analyzed the poetic and iconic function of Australian laundry hangers in Kythera's and Sydney's back yards.[42]

Nicholas Gage's *Eleni* describes specific artifacts sent by Christos Gatzoyannis from the U.S. to his family in Lia. Most memorable were the Singer sewing machine and the gramophone, both confiscated by the occupying Italian army in 1940.[43] Trunks full of clothes, shoes, and stockings caught the villagers' attention, where even the rope used to wrap the containers seemed exotic.[44] The value of such imports was not simply utilitarian; the dowry trunks were a social necessity, prerequisite to a girl's marriage but also a ceremonial possession. Some clothes were second hand, collected in the U.S. through charity.[45] There were also toys.[46] Nicholas Gage's most

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39   Gage 1983.

40   In 1985, the book was made into a movie directed by Peter Yates. John Malkovich played the role of Nicholas Gage.

41   Sutton 1994–1995; Sutton ed. 2000.

42   I thank Lita Tzortzopoulos-Gregory for sharing this unpublished data. See the project website, http://acl.arts.usyd.edu.au/projects/ourprojects/kythera/

43   Gage 1983, pp. 34, 65.

44   Gage 1983, p. 146.

45   When Eleni saw her daughter wear American dresses, she imagined an American double wearing the same outfit at an earlier time; see Gage 1983, p. 138.

46   "Stavros was lionized by the other children because he owned the only toys we had ever seen—wonderful American toys: a truck and an airplane that sped about the floor when you turned their keys, and a rainbow-colored spinning top. My father never sent anything as frivolous as toys, just practical things like clothes and shoes. I resented that too." Gage 1983, p. 164.

prized American possession was a brown tan leather satchel.[47] Finally, there was a brass bed purchased in Corfu by Christos Gatzoyannis during his 1937 return. The elevated bed was a curiosity, since Greek farmers traditionally slept on mattresses rolled daily on the floor. Eleni, in fact, used the bed only during her husband's return from America, endowing it with patriarchical and sexual value.[48] Objects from America proliferate in the legendary story of *Eleni*, as they also filled the intimate domestic spaces of immigrant families throughout Greece. In the absence of the loved father, brother, or husband, these partially utilitarian possessions became treasures replete with the exoticness of modernity. Moreover, they offered tangible testament to the economic process of migration, in which human capital departs in order to replenish the home with material capital—financial resources, lands, goods, and food.

Eleni's talismanic objects were resurrected in 2002 when grand-daughter, Eleni N. Gage rebuilt her ancestral home in Lia. In the process, she also excavated the famous demolished house, and collected a unique assemblage of buried artifacts. Excavation, restoration, and self-discovery coalesced into the 2004 memoir, *North of Ithaka: A Journey Home through a Family's Extraordinary Past*.[49] The excavation of Eleni's house in Lia is a small-scale project that combines physical evidence with narrative wealth. An Ottoman coin, for example, was found under the threshold, placed there as part of the foundation rituals during the house's construction in 1856. Its discovery half a century later reinforced the symbolism of the coin and the rehabilitation of the building.[50] Most excavated artifacts were generically agrarian (horseshoes, scales, locks), and they help us reconstruct the rural economy at peace. Others (bullets and grenades) illustrate the physical weapons of war and are a silent reminder of the house's turbulent history.[51] The building contains spectacular architectural features, such as a painted dedication, dated 1922, over one fireplace, and stone details that made Epirote masons famous throughout Europe. The rare assemblage of Eleni's house presents a dramatic cross-section of modernity in a pre-industrial rural setting. Despite its beauty and humility, it unites us with the volatile past of Modern Greece and with the international complexities of the Greek-American experience.

Presenting Immigration

The Leontio inscriptions, the Ludlow Massacre site, and Eleni's house in Lia are three isolated examples of archaeological investigations dealing with Greek-American material culture. Cross-fertilization between American and Greek excavations must now take place in order to develop a deeper comprehension of this transnational terrain. The skeptic might ask: why pursue such lines of inquiry at all? Why do we need archaeology when we already have history and a field of museology

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47 Gage 1983, pp. 299, 329.
48 Gage 1983, pp. 42, 65, 360.
49 Gage 2004.
50 Gage 2004, pp. 48–49.
51 Gage 2004, pp. 126–127.

specializing in the display of immigration? The Hellenic Museum (Chicago), the Polish Museum of America (Chicago), the Italian American Museum (New York), the Chinese American Museums (Los Angeles, Chicago, New York), the Lower East Side Tenement Museum (New York), and the Ellis Island Immigration Museum (New York) are all examples of a newly established museum type that follows consistent presentation strategies.[52] In general, museums of immigration universalize the fragmented experience of different groups into a single narrative of nation-building. Artifacts on display become the heroic evidence of struggle, assimilation, and ultimate success.[53] Museums in the home-countries, on the other hand, are rare because the loss of population testifies to nation-betrayal and embarrassment rather than nation-building.[54] The American immigrant museum is founded on the orthodoxy of melting-pot processes; it commemorates working-class origins from the position afforded by eventual economic success. The immigrant museum is a political entity, sponsored by individual minorities who overcame oppression, persecution, bias, and economic hardship, while retaining some semblance of ethnic difference. Thus, the immigrant museum has a noble pedagogical function, to educate both outsiders and the younger members of the group. In order to maintain a coherent narrative, to provoke a visceral connection with the past, and to touch the hearts of its visitor, the immigrant museum must dramatize history through the display of original artifacts. From a curatorial point of view, certain categories of material culture are better suited than others in scripting a didactic narrative that resonates with heritage. Documentary records, photographs, professional tools, household goods, handicrafts, and furniture are thus better suited to this than archaeological assemblages. While eliciting greater emotional response, however, heirlooms and memorabilia erase the primacy of context, and hinder a critical engagement with the objects.

Immigrant museums commonly contain reconstructed rooms that replicate struggling conditions, most elaborately seen at the Tenement Museum in New York. Paradoxically, reconstructed rooms came into being during the 1920s in order to "educate" the newly arrived illiterate immigrants on how to become American. When the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art opened in 1924, it featured 17 period rooms whose display would save American traditions from the perceived foreign threat. The museum curators expressed this anxiety as follows:

> Many of our people are not cognizant of our traditions and the principles for which our fathers struggled and died. The tremendous change in the character of our nation, and the

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52   An unprecedented number of museums, archives, and preservation programs on Greek America have emerged in recent years. For a survey of this grassroots phenomenon, see Frangos 2005.

53   For a critique of the ideological assumptions at the Ellis Island Museum, see Ingraham 2004, pp. 70–71.

54   The Norwegian Emigrant Museum and the History of Immigration Museum of Sweden are two exceptions. On nation-building and immigration museums, see Cairns 2004, pp. 22–23. Many Greek villages have local folklore societies and small museums, where one can find scant evidence from American immigration. These museums are largely unpublished.

influx of foreign ideas utterly at variance with those held by the men who gave us the Republic, threaten us and, unless checked, may shake its foundations.[55]

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia (1924) and Henry Ford's Greenwich Village in Dearborn, Michigan (1927), along with period rooms erected in museums at Detroit, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Toledo, were conceived as tools for the immigrant's cultural reform. Three quarters of a century later, immigrants have taken their ultimate revenge by appropriating the nativist strategy of "visualized biography." [56] The immigrant's turn has come to educate the native and to represent the chapter of suppression, violence, and exploitation. Whether in the hands of the native (in the 1920s) or of the immigrant (in the 1980s), period-rooms serve the discourse of heritage, albeit a heritage with expanded multicultural boundaries.[57] Nevertheless, the epistemological premise remains consistent, and the focus on heritage undermines history's dialectical engagement with material culture.[58] Immigrant archaeology need not compete with the immigrant museum, but it must complement its social and pedagogical agendas.

One possible collaboration between museum presentation and archaeology can be suggested by the study of beds. In its 2006 call for donations, the Hellenic Museum in Chicago solicited, among other artifacts, donations of immigrant furniture.[59] In particular, beds seem to offer a deeply interesting category of furniture, replete with allusions to sleep, rest, luxury, pleasure, sex, and procreation.[60] The display of beds as period devices or as museum treasures needs to be supplemented by archaeological context. In Lia, Eleni N. Gage discovered the remains of her grandmother's largely unused iron bed-frame, the very object that symbolized the patriarch's absence.[61] Beyond its implicit emotional power, the one-of-a-kind immigrant bed is generic and should be interpreted within a family of objects surviving in the archaeological record. For instance, bedsteads similar to Lia's were excavated in the U.S. and more specifically in the Ludlow Massacre.[62] A 1914 photograph from the Colorado Historical Society shows the members of the Red Cross Society standing amidst the

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55 Halsey and Tower 1925, p. xxii, quoted in Kauffman 1990, p. 46. On the use of Colonial Revival in the Americanization of immigrants, see Rhoads 1985. For an early discussion of the house museum as an institution, see Coleman 1933.

56 A term that dates to the 1930s, see Page 1999, p. 164.

57 American heritage has been articulated in three consecutive models: the Teutonic germ thesis of the 19th century, the Turner thesis of the early 20th century, and the melting-pot model of the mid 20th century. Each model was created by different groups, see Fischer 1989, pp. 4–5.

58 For a richer definition of history, material culture, and methodologies, see Glassie 1999, pp. 41–86.

59 Hellenic Museum 2006.

60 The Santa Fe Museum of International Folk Arts held an interesting exhibition on beds, "Dream On: Beds from Asia to Europe," see Carlano and Sumberg 2006.

61 Gage 2004, pp. 133–134.

62 "The remains of the cellars tell the story of the attack in terms more vivid than any found in historical documents. We found fire-damaged family possessions sitting on the floor: a rusted bedstead, metal basins, a row of canning jars melted in place, and a porcelain doll's head deformed by the heat of the fire." McGuire 2004, p. 66.

decimated camp; a sea of iron besteads fills the visual field, the only kind of artifact to survive the destruction by fire.[63] It is no surprise that it was bed frames that first symbolized the Greek immigrant in the literature of American sociology—a discipline born in Chicago for the purpose of understanding the city's lower classes. A series of scientific articles from the 1910s documents the living standards of each immigrant group in Chicago's North Side. The Greek case study features a room packed with iron beds but empty of people.[64] (Fig. 13.3) Although some bedposts are covered with unfolded piles of clothes, the ornate design of the metal frames is discernible. The beds of Chicago's Greeks are exactly like the beds of Ludlow and Lia. Now that we have identified a bed sample from photographs and excavations, we can investigate the anthropological transition from sleeping on the ground to sleeping elevated from the ground and its iconic power across urban America and rural Greece. The beds, moreover, are designed according to Art Nouveau sensibilities. Interlocking curves are tied by bronze connectors producing an organic design meaningful only to an educated audience immersed in the poetics of dreams and sleep, symbolist poetry, and psychoanalysis. Clearly, the beds were initially produced for a middle-class market with increasingly discriminating tastes. The poetic allusions, however, must have been totally lost on peasant users. One cannot help wondering how the rural Greek immigrant internalized or interpreted the aesthetics of this newly acquired utilitarian furniture.[65] Finally, careful consideration needs to be given to the chronological dimension. The metal bed frame was fully domesticated in Greek interiors—both urban and rural—during the 1950s. Although it had lost its foreign uniqueness, we must ask how particular bed frames functioned in the new urbanized imagination. In the 1955 movie *The Counterfeit Coin*, for example, the old Art Nouveau bed creates an explicit aura of eroticism and promiscuity.[66] Out of context, the beds of Lia, Ludlow, and Chicago are inert objects. Placed under the light of archaeological specificity, its temporal and spatial setting triggers a dialogue of intention, appropriation, readability, and expression.

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63   Gitelman 1988, p. 19.

64   Hunt 1910, pp. 71–72.

65   Art Nouveau had strong Orientalist dimensions; consider for example Louis Comfort Tiffany's inspiration from his travels in Egypt and North Africa during the 1870s, see Johnson 2005, pp. 23–27, 166–201. How did Eastern immigrants, directly familiar with an Oriental vocabulary, respond to the exoticized version of their own cultural milieu?

66   *The Counterfeit Coin* is a film of Greek social realism directed by George Tzavellas. It tells four stories connected by the possession of a counterfeit coin. The viewer is transported through different residential interiors ranging in class and social status. The bedroom scenes contain different beds, coded with associations. When the peddler visits the prostitute's room, he lies with her on an Art Nouveau frame, distinctly different from the rectilinear frames used in the other three stories.

Fig.13.3   *The American Journal of Sociology* 1910, photograph, "Greek lodging group of eleven men on the North Side. Seven men sleep in this room; there are two stables in the basement of this house with stalls for thirteen horses." Hunt 1910, pp. 71-72

The Archaeology of the Recent Past

Greeks constituted a unique immigrant group, in that their American hosts were aggressively involved in the archaeological exploration of their origin. Just as Greek immigrants were arriving in the U.S. for work, Americans were pouring into Greece to study the Classical past, docking on the same ships, even if traveling in different classes. Americans were hiring Greek workmen in their excavations just as they were getting to know them in the American labor force.[67] Paradoxically, the same Rockefellers responsible for the Ludlow Massacre were simultaneously financing the excavations of Athens.[68] American archaeology in 1873–1924 interpreted the Classical past as an integral chapter of the western heritage with little connection to its contemporary geographic context. Since the 1960s, however, American archaeologists have tried to shed the colonial origins of their discipline and to respect the realities of Modern Greece. Following the revolution of Processual or New Archaeology, British and American expeditions have expanded research on Post-Classical periods, and have embraced modern culture as a legitimate subject matter. Beginning with

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[67]   In some cases, the intersection between American archaeologists and Greek workmen concluded in romance and marriage. Alice Walker married the foreman of her excavations at Halae in 1924; see Lavezzi 2004.

[68]   John D. Rockefeller supported the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1922. He financed the Agora excavations and the building of the Agora Museum (the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos); see Lord 1947, pp. 147, 255.

the Minnesota Messenia Expedition of 1962, field surveys have applied a diachronic lens to the rural landscape. The Southern Argolid Exploration Project, the Methana Survey, the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, the East Korinthia Archaeological Survey, the Lakonia Survey, the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project, the Morea Project, the Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey, the Sydney Cyprus Project, and others have legitimized modernity as a period of archaeological research.[69] Although more conservative than field surveys, excavations have also embraced younger periods. Most notably, Guy Sanders's work in the Panayia Field at Ancient Corinth has produced the first stratigraphic pottery sequence for 19th- and 20th-century Greece.[70] Such projects have shown that Greek society entered modernity as early as 1750. The quaint and traditional rural village, therefore, is not a repository of ancient unchanging traditions but rather the product of capitalism and international commerce.[71] American immigration is just a single episode in a long history of demographic movement and mutual exchange of resources. From the vantage of World-Systems theory, the archaeology of vernacular Greece must be pursued beyond national boundaries.[72]

During the 19th century and most of the 20th century, archaeology was a discipline focused on pre-modern epochs. Archaeologists of Colonial America, the Middle Ages, and Early-Modern Europe broke away from that mold but remained marginal. The upheavals of the 1960s broke the definition of archaeology as a period-specific field and replaced it with a definition based on methodology. By 1973, modernity and archaeology entered into legitimate partnership.[73] Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas have argued that the archaeology of the recent past is more than a passive academic enterprise; rather, it offers opportunities for critical engagement with the questions and essentializing narratives of modernity.[74] By reaching into Post-Colonial criticism, the archaeology of Greek-American material culture can expand the debates of immigration, ethnicity, and national expectations. Postmodernism found Greece a useful case study in the intellectual battles against modernist categories (race, ethnicity, class, gender). In the 1980s and 1990s, Greece was effectively rediscovered by Western scholarship as a canon-breaker in literary criticism, anthropology, and architectural history, but Greek-American archaeology was not a contributing player.[75] Greek immigration to America is a complicated

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69   For an overview of survey projects dealing with Post-Classical Greece, see Kourelis 2003, pp. 83–106.

70   Sanders 1999; 2000.

71   See, for example, a case study from Messenia, Lee 2001.

72   Wallerstein 1974. For a postmodern geographical critique of the World-systems theory, see Dussel 1998.

73   Michael Schiffer, William Rathje, and Michael Gould pioneered modern garbage projects in Tucson, Arizona and Honolulu, Hawaii; see Rhatje and Murphy 1992.

74   Buchli and Lucas 2001.

75   Gregory Jusdanis, for example, asked whether postmodernism is possible in Greece (Jusdanis 1987). James Faubion investigated the anthropology of historical constructivism (Faubion 1993). Michael Herzfeld mined the truths of ethnography (Herzfeld 1986). Kenneth Frampton used Greek modernism to establish a modernist counter-tradition in Critical Regionalism (Frampton 1985). In the creative arts, a generation of Greek Americans has been

phenomenon, both typical and atypical, both national and international in scope. Its archaeological dimension has only recently entered into focus as a result of isolated field projects. Further research promises to illuminate the subtle interworkings of immigration and to illuminate the Greek-American legacy in the U. S.

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PART IV
The Changing Landscape

The End of Ancient Corinth?
Views from the Landscape

David K. Pettegrew

Abstract

Among Professor Timothy E. Gregory's most important contributions to Post-Classical Studies has been his long-term commitment to landscape approaches for writing local history. This paper presents recent research from the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey—a project initiated and directed by Professor Gregory—to show how Corinth's broader region of settlements, villas, and places remained vital to the life of the Late Antique city. Contrary to Late Roman literary sources and modern conceptions of the "end" of Ancient Corinth, this paper argues from the landscape that the city remained stable, if not healthy, well into the 6th century A.D.

Introduction

The subject of this paper is a familiar one in the scholarship of Corinth: in what sense did the ancient city "end" between the 3rd and 7th centuries A.D.? This is a question that may seem best addressed from the vantage point of the urban center, with its numerous administrative and religious buildings and spaces. Yet, as Timothy Gregory has argued, the Ancient city also existed in a variety of *broader spheres*, in its territory and landscape, in its ex-urban villas, farmsteads, harbors, and rural sanctuaries. Gregory's recognition of the centrality of the territory in his discussions of the local world is indeed among his most important contributions to Post-Classical studies (Hall and Caraher, this volume). This paper shows how recent archaeological research in Corinth's eastern landscape, the Isthmus, provides new insights about the end of this famous city in Late Antiquity.

The End of Ancient Corinth

The "end" of Ancient Corinth is firmly established by the city's historiographic tradition. Modern historical sketches of Corinth have often followed the testimony of a small group of Late Roman authors who seem to suggest that the city fared disastrously between the 3rd and 7th centuries. The 6th-century pagan historian Zosimus, for instance, states that following the death of Valentinian (Zos. Book 4 and 5.6–7):

> Earthquakes likewise happened in many places. Crete was very much shaken, as was likewise the Peloponnese, and all Greece, many places being destroyed; indeed almost all were overturned, except Athens and the country of Attica ….

Later, Zosimus adds (5.6–7) that in A.D. 395/396, Alaric and his Goths:

> … proceeded towards the Peloponnesus …. Corinth was first assaulted and immediately taken, with the small towns in its neighborhood, and afterwards Argos, with all the places between that and Lacedaemon. Even Sparta shared in the common captivity of Greece.

The Christian author Jerome himself named (*Ep.* 55) Alaric's invasion as one of the "catastrophes of our times," indicating that:

> The Roman world is falling …. What courage, think you, have the Corinthians now, or the Athenians or the Lacedaemonians or the Arcadians, or any of the Greeks over whom the barbarians bear sway? I have mentioned only a few cities, but these were once the capitals of no mean states.

In the 6th century, Procopius and others list Corinth among the cities overthrown and destroyed by terrible earthquakes, and decimated by the plague.[1] To round out these disasters, the Slavs allegedly swept through in the late 6th century, exterminating what remained of the population, or driving them into exile. When taken all together, these sources form a chronicle of disastrous events, that include as many as four barbarian invasions—Herulians (267), Visigoths (396), Vandals (c. 450), and Slavs (580s)—at least two epic earthquakes (360s–370s and 500s), and a deadly plague (530s). Some modern historical accounts, interpreting these sources literally, have depicted the city as entering a disastrous tailspin of decline as early as the 3rd century A.D.

A century of archaeological work at Corinth, Isthmia, and Kenchreai has uncovered numerous Late Antique buildings which, when read through these same ancient authors, have materialized narratives of decline. Scholars such as J. Finley, O. Broneer, and R. Scranton (among many others), for example, portrayed Late Antique Corinth as a destroyed, derelict, or despoiled city, a city stripped of its Greco-Roman character by A.D. 400.[2] More recently, D. Engels linked the public face of the city with the civic values of a service society; the buildings destroyed in the 4th century represented the heart of Classical civilization and the principles of a civic stoicism.[3] Only in the last 15 years have scholars actively challenged the decline thesis, questioning the documentary sources upon which it is based, highlighting elements of continuity and new building activity in the Late Roman city, and overhauling the

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1   See Procop. *Anec.* 18.42.6; *Aed.* 4.2.24, who lists multiple terrible earthquakes, including some under Justinian. Cf. also Evagrius Schol. 159.12; John Malalas *Chron.* 418.4; and Cosmas Indic. *Topog. Christ.* 1.22.14, for passing references. There is confusion in the historiographic tradition about whether these earthquakes occurred during the reign of Justin or Justinian.

2   Finley 1932, pp. 477–80; Broneer 1954, p. 159; Scranton 1957, p. 5.

3   Engels 1990, esp. pp. 66–91.

conventional chronology for the monumental late history of the city.[4] To speak today of the end of the Greco-Roman city now requires qualification, specifying precise institutions, structures, buildings, and threads of discontinuity.[5]

One of Timothy Gregory's most important contributions to this historical problem has been to shift the debate from urban center to territory. In effect, Gregory argued that *landscapes*—the broadest realms of social and economic life—are fundamental arenas of local history, and vital for understanding the life and death of ancient civic institutions (Gregory 1994a). Gregory's numerous archaeological investigations, for instance, have underscored the central place of regional structures in sustaining and defining the local world: fortification walls protect cities and regions from invaders, and also redefine them (Gregory 1979, 1993, 2007); fortified settlements are related to a broader regional network of settlements (Gregory and Kardulias 1990); ex-urban derelict Roman baths form the stage for "Dark Age" settlement (Gregory 1993), and monumental arches demarcate local and regional topography (Gregory 1984). Even more fundamentally, regional patterns of settlement and land use speak to the most significant historical phenomena, including population shifts, migration and abandonment, the relationship of town and country, agricultural stability, indeed, even the collapse of complex societies (1985; 1986; 1994a; 1994b; 2007). Gregory's interest in a broader local history has gone hand in hand with his advocacy of regional archaeological survey as the method most suited to the investigation of entire landscapes (1985; 1986; 1994a; 2007). His most recent role in directing the Eastern Korinthia Survey is simply the outgrowth of numerous previous investigations of different sub-regions of the eastern Corinthia.

The remainder of this paper shows how the data produced by the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey contribute to the general discussion about the state of the city in Late Antiquity, as well as the more specific body of scholarship on the Corinthian countryside. Views from the landscape indicate that Corinth "ended" not in A.D. 396, as scholars have often asserted, but in the later 6th century A.D., when Corinth's ex-urban commercial facilities and settlements ceased to facilitate the city's relationship to the broader Mediterranean world.

Late Roman Abundance

The Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (EKAS) was carried out in the summers of 1999–2001, with study seasons following in 2002 and 2003.[6] The main area of research lay between the modern villages of Kyras Vrysi (Isthmia) and Hexamilia, and presumably cutting across the main ancient routes between the sanctuary at Isthmia, the harbor of Kenchreai, and the urban center at Corinth. The survey methods of EKAS followed the standard siteless survey procedures established by

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4   Recent revision of the history of the urban center has included Brown 2005; Sanders 1999. Recent work on Late Roman chronology: Slane and Sanders 2005..

5   Careful definitions are a problem confronting all historians who study the end of the ancient city. See Liebeschuetz 2001a, and Liebeschuetz 2001b.

6   For an overview of this survey and its methods, cf. Tartaron *et al.* 2006; and Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew 2006.

the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project, Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, and the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project, where surveyors walk transects across small survey units at ten-meter intervals, counting and recording the amounts and kinds of cultural remains found in their swaths. For each survey unit, EKAS teams collected two kinds of artifactual data. First, fieldwalkers recorded the *total count* of broad classes of artifacts found in a survey unit. Fieldwalkers armed with tally counters counted every piece of pottery, tile, stone tools/lithic debris in their swath, as well as artifacts (e.g., glass) outside these categories. These total counts are useful for generating density maps of broad classes of artifacts spatially distributed across the survey area. Next, field teams recorded the diversity of types of material in the unit, through a record of the number of unique artifact types. This latter recording process, called the *Chronotype system*, was developed by T. E. Gregory and N. Meyer, and is discussed in depth elsewhere in this volume (Moore).

The most distinctive feature of the Roman period in the EKAS territory is that the ubiquity and abundance of Late Roman pottery in this territory is far greater than that of other periods.[7] With regard to the overall ceramic data, there is simply much more Late Roman pottery than there is of the periods immediately preceding or following. Late Roman ceramics form 4.5% of all pottery analyzed by EKAS; by stark contrast, the Early Roman period produced only 0.86% of the total artifacts, and the total count for Early Medieval artifacts was only 17, less than a bare fraction of a percent of the total artifact count. Moreover, material from the Late Roman period is found in more survey units in the EKAS area than from any other narrow period.[8] Late Roman ceramic fragments occur in 43.2% (n=577) of all survey units (n=1336), compared to a meager 14.4% of units (n=193) containing Early Roman pottery, and a nearly negligible 1.0% of units (n=14) containing Early Medieval pottery. Indeed, there are very few areas of the Isthmus that lack pottery of the Late Roman period (see Fig. 14.3 below).

This frequency of material demonstrates that the eastern Corinthia in Late Antiquity really was a "busy countryside."[9] Much of this material dates specifically to the later 4th to 7th centuries, including, for instance, Late Roman amphora types, and late forms of African Red slipware (Forms 99, 104–106) and Phocaean ware (Forms 3, 9–10). This ubiquity of Late Roman pottery in the area, imported from Asia Minor, Palestine, the Aegean, and Africa, indicates that the territory continued to function in interregional and Mediterranean markets at least through the 6th century A.D.—despite the alleged disruptive events said to have afflicted the city at this time. This conclusion complements those reached by Slane and Sanders (2005) in their study of the ceramic material from the urban center: Corinth's commercial activity continued well beyond the traditional "end" of the ancient city in A.D. 396.

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7   For EKAS, the "Early Roman" period represents the period between 31 B.C. and A.D. 250, the "Late Roman" between A.D. 250 and 700, and the "Early Medieval" between A.D. 700 and 1200.

8   The narrow periods are those defined as more restricted than 1,000 years, and consequently they would exclude much broader periods such as "Ancient-Historic" and "Ancient".

9   Pettegrew 2007.

If we think of Roman Corinth as an important commercial node in a Mediterranean-wide distribution network, then there is little evidence for the city's end in respect to that landscape before the late 6th century A.D.

A Late Roman Settlement Explosion? Understanding Change in the Countryside

We might wonder whether the territory in the Late Roman period was even economically healthier and better settled than in the Early Roman period. This question is an important one to ask because a number of scholars have posited an "explosion" of rural settlements in Late Antiquity following a settlement downturn in the earlier Roman period. This analysis sees Late Antiquity as a period of recovery, of revival, and of the expansion of the population and intensive agriculture over a previously empty countryside. At the very least, the presence of more pottery in the Late Antique period suggests a much healthier rural world.[10]

Although the data from the Eastern Korinthia Survey reproduces the general pattern—Late Roman pottery is denser, more ubiquitous and extensive, and more abundant overall in comparison with the Early Roman period (see Fig. 14.1)—we must recognize that the Late Roman "explosion" is at least partly a product of the period's greater diagnosticity: the Late Roman period is more visible because its pottery is diagnostic and easier to recognize in the process of archaeological survey. Table 1 provides a list of the 10 most common *Late Roman* chronotypes found in our survey area. Two major chronotypes ("spirally grooved ware" and "combed ware") dominate, representing medium-coarse body sherds, often originating from large closed vessel forms like transport amphoras.[11] In the EKAS territory, the artifact count from the Late Roman period is substantially inflated by coarse and medium coarse wares with grooving and combing, representing the majority (62.8%) of the 1,707 total pieces of Late Roman pottery identified in the survey.

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10 E.g., Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988; Kardulias, Gregory, and Sawmiller 1995; Kosso 2003.

11 For these descriptions, cf. Robinson 1959, p. 6. Spiral grooving and combing occurred on a variety of amphoras and transport vessels of the East Mediterranean (as well as some open forms), especially the Late Roman amphora series. Cf., for example, Peacock and Williams 1986, Types 43, 46, 48, and 49.

Table 14.1   Ten Most Abundant Late Roman Chronotypes

Chronotype	As % of LR Chronotypes
Spirally Grooved Ware	41.1%
Combed Ware	21.7%
Amphora, Late Roman 2	6.3%
Kitchen Ware, Late Roman	5.6%
Amphora, Palestinian	4.8%
Phocaean Ware	4.0%
Medium Coarse Ware, Late Roman	3.3%
Phocaean Ware 3	2.7%
Amphora, Late Roman 1	1.4%
Amphora, Late Roman	1.3%

The interpretive implications of this are significant. The relative percentages of functional classes differ radically between the two periods (Table 2). The great proportion of Late Roman artifacts (83.0%) was coarse wares, presumably amphoras, whereas the narrow majority of Early Roman artifacts (38.3%) was fine wares. Although a similar number of fine ware sherds (165 vs. 127) and kitchen ware sherds (96 vs. 82) was identified for both periods, nevertheless, for the Late Roman period, these wares were proportionally much less important in filling out the landscape than were coarse ware sherds. Utilitarian vessel body sherds were the most abundant indicators of Late Antiquity: the number of Late Roman coarse ware sherds (n = 1,417) outnumbers the number of Early Roman coarse ware sherds (n = 119) by a factor of 12 to 1.

Table 14.2   A Breakdown of Functional Classes for Late Roman and Early Roman
              Periods

Functional Classes	Late Roman Pottery Count	% LR Pottery	Early Roman Pottery Count	% ER Pottery
Coarse Wares (e.g., Amphoras)	1417	83.0%	119	36.2%
Fine Ware	165	9.7%	125	38.0%
Kitchen Ware	96	5.6%	82	24.9%
Other	29	1.7%	3	0.69%
Total	**1707**	**100%**	**329**	**100%**

The enormous difference between these two periods is a product, then, of the larger number of Late Roman coarse wares, itself a product of diagnostic body sherds. To compare Early and Late Roman periods without calibrating for this bias leads to a grossly misleading impression of the importance of the later period in comparison to the earlier. Instead, we can compare the frequency of fine ware and kitchen ware sherds between the two periods (Table 2), or compare the periods on the basis of feature sherds only (i.e., rims, bases, and handles; see Fig. 14.2). In both cases, we are accounting for the bias of differential diagnosticity caused by changes in the number of recognizable type fossils over time; doing this allows us to see that the two periods are more equal than they may initially appear.[12]

These analyses do not detract from recent assessments about the healthy state of the Late Antique rural economy, but they do affect how we understand "continuity and change" in the countryside during this period. Rather than interpret the greater abundance of Late Roman pottery as signaling a new explosion of settlement out of an Early Roman void, we should read the later material as the continuation of earlier structures of settlement and land use. Corinth's eastern countryside *did not suddenly become* inhabited after a period in which it had lain abandoned and neglected; rather, the countryside that had been inhabited at an Early Roman date *remained* an important resource-base throughout the Roman city's late existence, even to the 6th or 7th century A.D.

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12 See further discussion in Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew 2006, pp. 21–26; Pettegrew 2007.
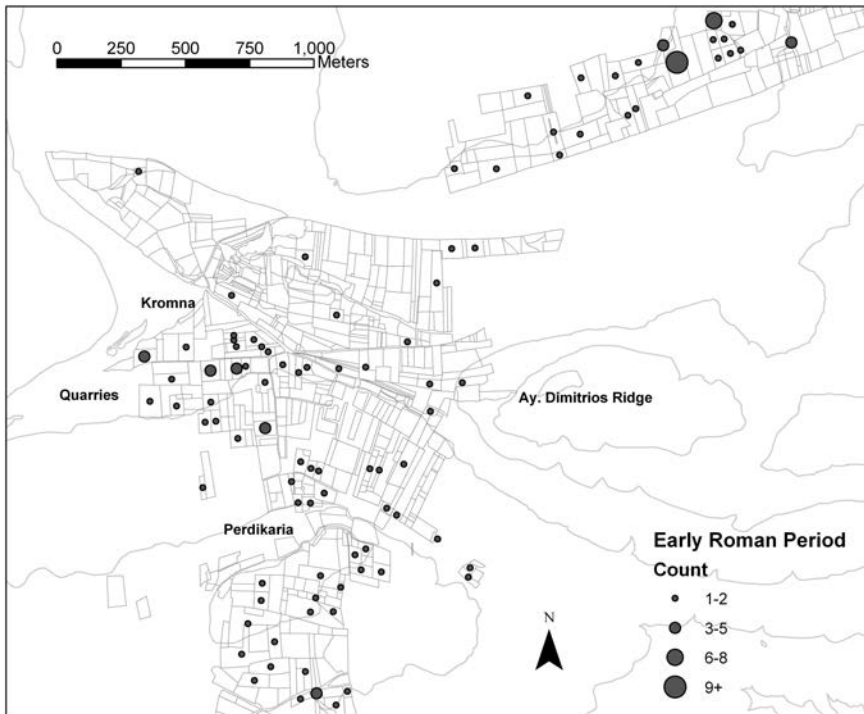
Fig. 14.1a   Comparison of Early Roman and Late Roman (14.1b) on basis of total count of artifacts.

Late Roman Villas, Farms, and Ex-Urban Buildings

Until quite recently, the topographic and extensive surveys undertaken by Sakellariou and Faraklas, and Wiseman, as well as a few rescue excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service, significantly shaped our understanding of Corinthian ex-urban settlement patterns.[13] In summarizing this evidence for the Roman Corinthian countryside, for example, Donald Engels described (1990) the Corinthian rural settlement pattern as "nucleated," that is, based in towns and villages, but with few small farmsteads or villas beyond a ring of suburban houses immediately outside the city walls. This nucleated pattern of settlement, Engels argued, was itself a product of a service economy whereby farmers living in villages produced goods for the centralizing market of the city center.[14] Richard Rothaus, on the other hand, suggested that these Corinthian suburban villas were a Late Antique phenomenon, related to the changing character of the city during this period; as sub-urban satellites of Corinth town and Kenchreai, they constituted evidence against A.H.M. Jones's view that the *curiales* had fled from the cities to rural self-sufficient manors.[15] Even

13   Sakellariou and Faraklas 1971; Wiseman 1978.
14   Engels 1990, p. 24.
15   Rothaus 1994.
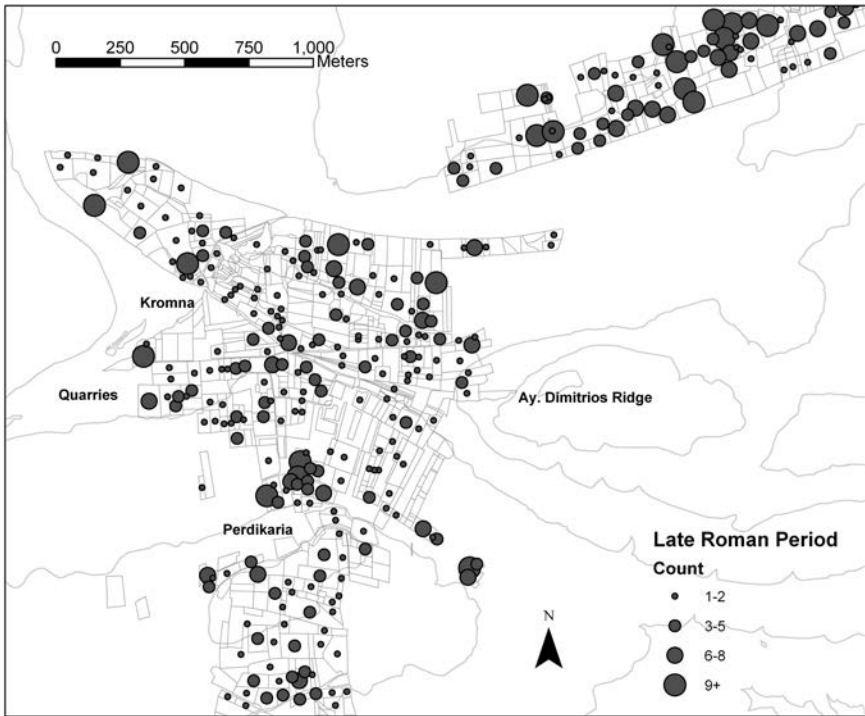
Fig. 14.1b   Comparison of Early Roman (14.1a) and Late Roman on basis of total count of artifacts.

by the early 1990s, however, a number of small-scale surveys conducted by Timothy Gregory had revealed a variety of ex-urban Late Roman settlement in different parts of the eastern Corinthia, suggesting a diversified rural economy beyond Corinth's suburbs.[16]

The completion of the EKAS project has contributed new insights into these issues by revealing a variety of Early Roman and Late Roman settlements and buildings throughout the eastern Corinthia. The material from the Roman and the Late Roman periods forms a continuous carpet of artifacts, albeit with varying densities across the entire survey area, suggesting that ex-urban habitation was thicker than had previously been estimated. As a "siteless survey", field teams did not look for sites during the course of fieldwork, but there were a number of places in the countryside where the Late Roman and Roman material was especially diverse and abundant, yielding Early Roman-Late Roman fine wares, cooking wares, amphoras, and lamps—not to mention materials such as tiles, ancient cement, water pipes, marble revetment, tesserae, agricultural processing equipment, and architectural objects that may or may not be tied specifically to the Early or Late Roman period. Fieldwalkers noted the richness of the artifacts present at some locations, and referred to these areas as "villas", the most popular villa being the so-called "Villa of the Pigdog", named after

16   Gregory 1985; Urse 1988; Kardulias, Gregory, and Sawmiller 1995.
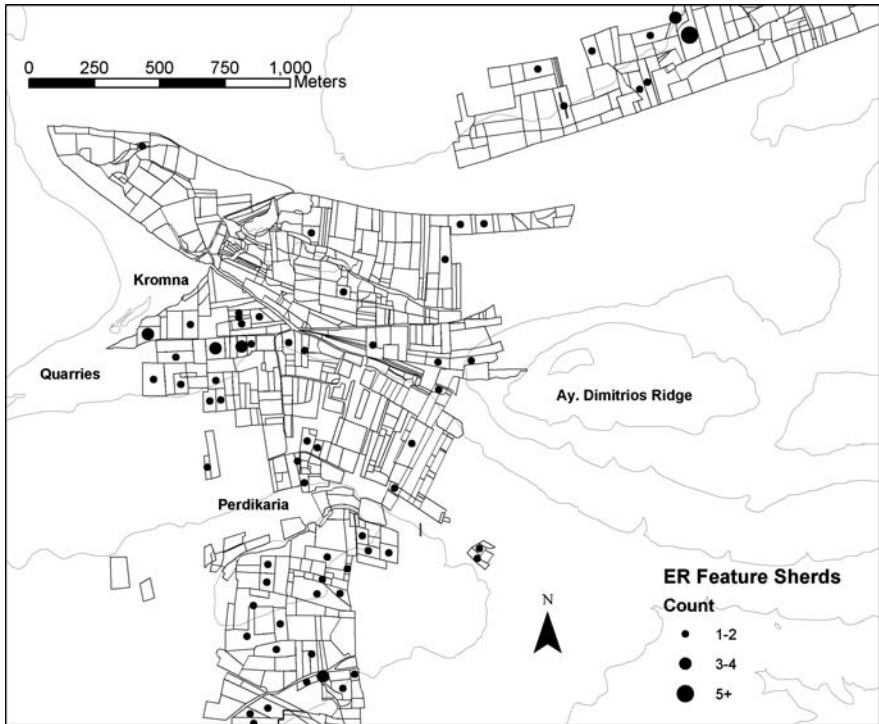
Fig. 14.2a   Comparison of Early Roman and Late Roman (14.2b) on basis of
count of feature sherds.

an ugly, yelping mutt that would appear with the morning mist and menace the field
teams. Such "villas" and "sites" indicate areas of significant material investment in
the Roman countryside.

There are two ways in which we may discern patterns in the high-density Late
Roman places. By using an arbitrary threshold of at least five artifacts per unit to define
the distribution of units with significant Late Roman phases,[17] most of the Isthmus
shows substantial phase signatures for the Late Roman period, the material of which
is spread continuously across the surveyed area (Fig. 14.3). Moreover, ranking the
survey units with the densest Late Roman material shows a broad distribution of
Late Roman "sites" across the survey area. Fig. 14.4a shows the location of the 50
densest and most diverse Late Roman units on the Isthmus. A number of these units
are adjacent to one another, and should presumably be associated with each other;
grouping adjacent high-density units produces 24 distinct Late Roman sites (Fig.
14.4b), most of them located in the transect between Xylokeriza and Kyras Vrysi,
but spread throughout the entire area.

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17   In dealing with the ceramic material found at "sites", some survey archaeologists
have used a minimum threshold of five or more artifacts of a specific period as evidence of a
significant component or occupational phase of that period.
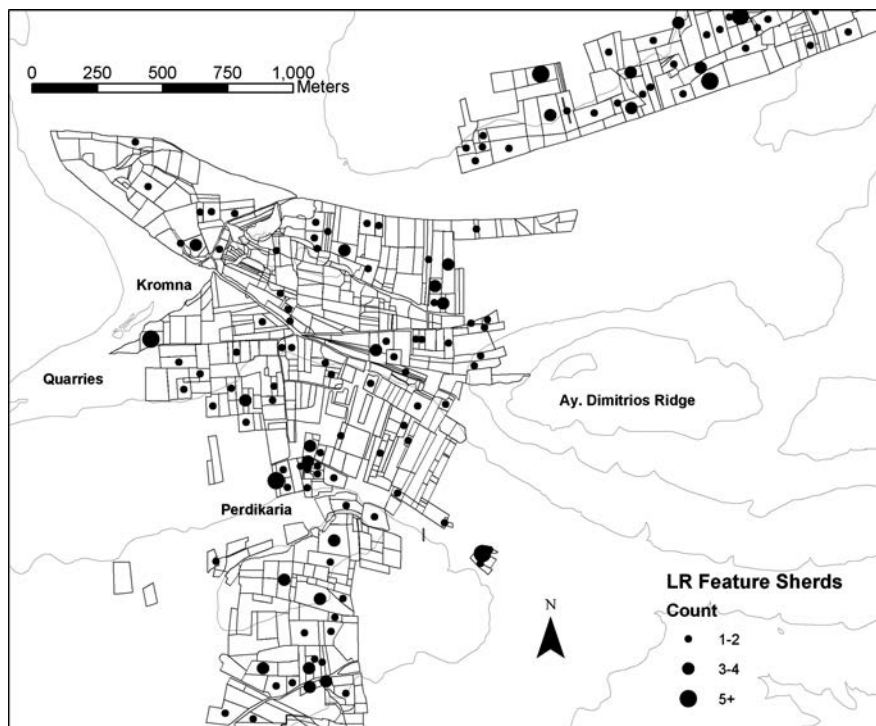
Fig. 14.2b   Comparison of Early Roman (14.2a) and Late Roman on basis of count of feature sherds.

What do these sites suggest about the city in Late Antiquity? On the one hand, the ubiquity of material of Roman and Late Roman date contributes a significant blow to the picture of a nucleated pattern of settlement and land use in the Roman and Late Roman period; ex-urban settlement is both more continuous and complex than previously estimated. It is equally important to note that there appears to be a strong element of continuity between Early Roman and Late Roman sites within the territory. Fig. 14.5, for instance, shows Late Roman Sites (black outline) frequently overlaying the units with the densest Early Roman material (solid shade). Such is the case where 13 of the Late Roman Sites (#s 1–5, 7–9, 11, 14, 15, 17, and 18) overlay or are directly adjacent to Early Roman Sites (also defined by ranking the top fifty Early Roman units). Moreover, two thirds of the sites yielded pottery datable to the Early Roman period generally, spanning the late 1st century B.C. to the mid 3rd century A.D., and roughly half the sites yielded pottery dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. All of the Late Roman Sites yielded amphora or fine ware sherds dated to the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., and some 9 of the 24 sites yielded late forms of narrow combed ware dated between the later 6th century and the 8th century.
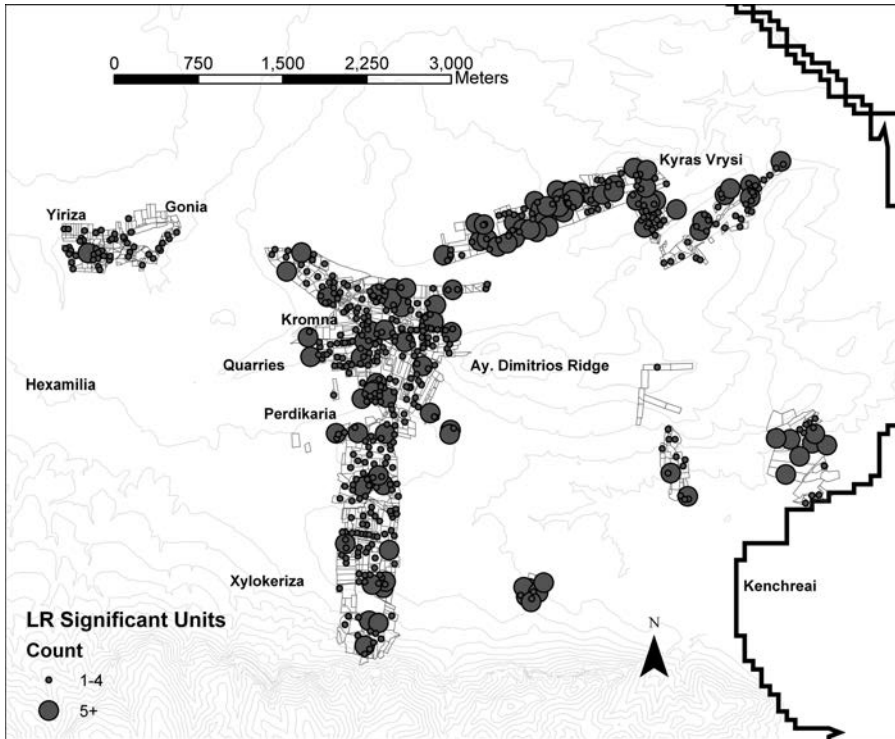
Fig. 14.3   Units with Significant Thresholds of Late Roman Material (Large dot indicates 5+ artifacts of Late Roman date; smaller dots indicate units with 1-4 Late Roman artifacts).

Although there are also real differences between periods, this pattern does suggest a strong degree of long-term continuity in the use of *specific places* in the landscape. Continuity does not mean that places are being used in the same way over time, but rather indicates that specific areas in the land that were important at an Early Roman date remained important over the broad Roman period. Moreover, widespread rebuilding suggests a society capable of refurbishing, of investing and reinvesting in the physical landscape, with buildings, mosaic floors, household equipment, and the like. The brightness of the 5th- and 6th-century material landscape again casts doubts on dramatically negative pictures of the end of Ancient Corinth and challenges the pervasive view of a city in decline. In such views from the landscape, extensive ex-urban civic and social structures live on to a later date, even into the 7th or 8th century A.D.: the territory of Late Antique Corinth appears anything but stagnant.
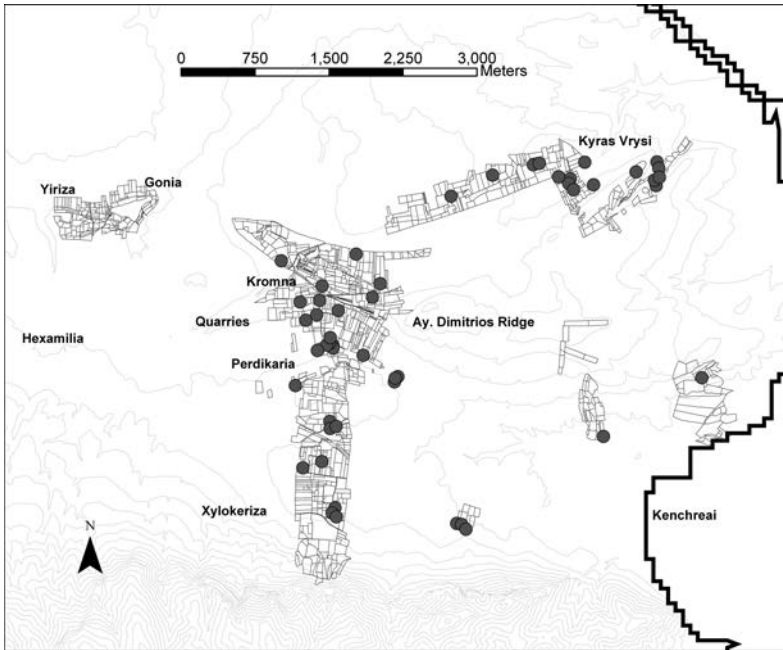
Fig. 14.4a   Fifty most diverse Late Roman units, and 24 Late Roman Sites following grouping (14.4b, below).
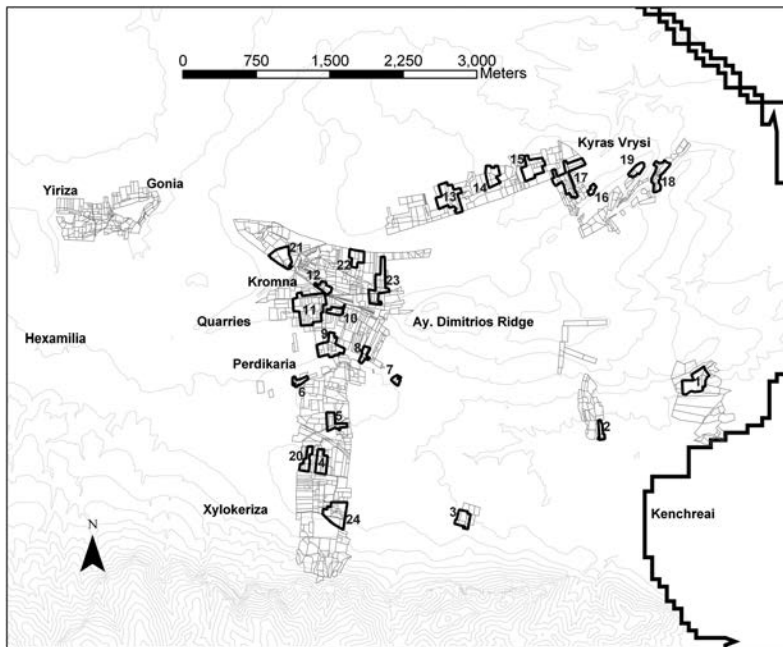
Fig. 14.4b   Fifty most diverse Late Roman units (14.4a, above), and 24 Late Roman Sites following grouping.
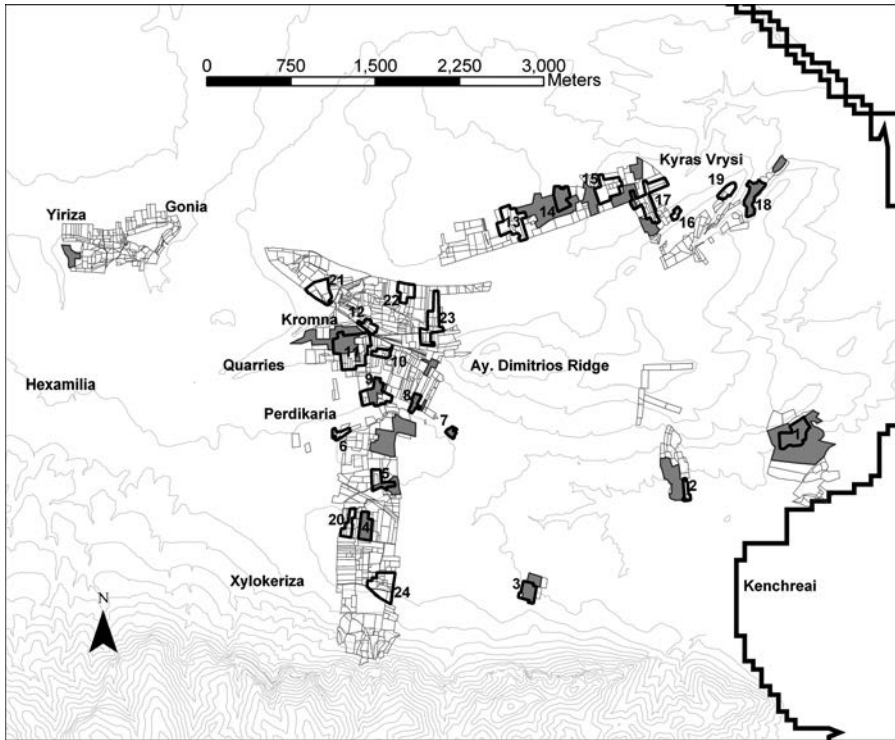
Fig.14.5   Late Roman Sites (black outline) and Early Roman Sites (solid shade) on the Isthmus.

A Pattern of Settlement: Enduring Structures of the Countryside

We can conclude with an observation on the broader pattern of Corinthian settlement in the Roman period. The EKAS data indicate that the eastern territory was thick with farmsteads, villas, and ex-urban installations, but was also not a typical idyllic Greek countryside, dotted with isolated country houses evenly spaced across the landscape. Rather, as the figures above suggest, the ex-urban sprawl of settlement and buildings across the Isthmus also includes Roman and Late Roman concentrations in several broad areas, especially in the stretch of land near the site of Isthmia, and the extensive area framed by Perdikaria on the south and Kromna on the north.[18]

The striking degree of continuity in the intensity of use of these areas between the Early Roman period and Late Antiquity indicates their significance, and must be related to the network of roads that crossed these areas. The Isthmus was the front yard of Corinth, territory that most travelers passed through on the way to, from, and around the city, and the most important crossroads on the Isthmus surely attracted a variety of settlements and villas, ex-urban markets, industrial spaces, mortuary

18   For further discussion of these sites, cf. Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew 2006; Pettegrew 2006, esp. chapter 5.

landscapes, and sacred places. The site often called "Kromna", for instance, was one of the most important crossroads west of Isthmia—a point of convergence for travelers coming from or going to Isthmia, Kenchreai, the Corinthian Gulf, Corinth town, or the Argolid (via Corinth). From the Early Roman period, Kromna was rich in places that included private houses and villas, tombs, quarries, and agricultural installations. Whatever specific functional changes that a crossroads like Kromna underwent through the Roman period, the general pattern of repeated *inhabiting* reflects the vitality of the crossroads for the life of an ancient city famous for its role in traffic and trade. The material continuity of such regional structures from the 1st and 2nd centuries to the 6th and early 7th centuries pushes us once again past the traditional dates given for the end of the ancient city.

Conclusion

Cultural change is usually more complex than the dramatic narratives spun by our surviving literary sources. While it is true that ancient cities could and did suffer crippling blows from wars, barbarians, or natural disasters, we also know that ancient authors exaggerated, misinterpreted, and sometimes even invented their information, in order to create historical accounts that were meaningful to themselves and to their audiences. The rationale for examining broader archaeological landscapes is not that they provide empirical "facts" that are somehow superior to ancient literary evidence, but rather, that they provide different windows into the more mundane social and economic structures upon which cities depended and grew: villas and farmsteads, ex-urban markets, fortification walls, and settlement systems.

When viewed from its eastern landscape, the end of ancient Corinth is less dramatic and less immediate. Real material change came not in the late 4th century, but in the late 6th, when the territory's place in supra-regional trade networks declined and habitation seems to have disappeared. There were many real redefinitions in town and territory during Late Antiquity, but the land of the eastern Corinthia remained both a busy crossroads and an inhabited territory. If an earthquake of A.D. 365 or 375 shook Corinth and its harbors, it does not appear to have crippled ex-urban settlement systems or local exchange networks in the long term. If the Visigoths rolled through the region in A.D. 395, the territory apparently weathered the storm. The earliest evidence for the widespread abandonment of habitation, in fact, occurs only in the later 6th, or the 7th century; until then, the city's ex-urban buildings and structures were stable and enduring. If we accept that the urban center had strong social, economic, and cultural links with its territory, we should rightly wonder how a flourishing territory can any longer support the image of an urban center in decay.[19] Recent, more positive reappraisals of the urban center (see note 4 above) in any case encourage such queries.

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19   The nature of this relationship has been discussed explicitly in literature for the Corinthia only rarely. For an exception, see Rothaus 1994, 2000, pp. 26–29. It is common, though, in general discussions of Greece. See Gregory 1994a and 1994b; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988; Bintliff 1991.

Ultimately, the recent spate of research into the Corinthian territory introduces as many questions as it answers. If the territory produces evidence for material continuity between the 1st and 6th centuries, is there not also evidence for significant change?[20] If the 6th- or early 7th-century landscape marks an end of an era for the city of Corinth, a kind of "Corinthian Twilight", what do we make of the dark night beyond? Does the dearth of evidence for the 7th and 8th centuries indicate a veritable lack of habitation, or does it instead only reflect a material culture that lies below our thresholds of measurement? And then we are still left with the broader theoretical questions (Gregory 1994a) about how these disasters related to the rural health of Late Antiquity, or how they contributed to the Early Medieval period in the east. That we are now in the habit of raising these questions, and that we now have a varied toolset for producing new answers, we are significantly indebted to Gregory for the path he paved by his archaeological and historical research in Post-Antique landscapes.

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20   See Pettegrew 2006 for an effort to bring literary testimony and excavated villas to bear on this question.

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Constructing Memories: Hagiography, Church Architecture, and the Religious Landscape of Middle Byzantine Greece: The Case of St. Theodore of Kythera

William R. Caraher

Abstract

Two of Tim Gregory's longest held interests are landscape archaeology and the religious history of the Byzantine East. The use of landscape as an analytical framework presents a broad canvas for the study of social, political, and religious transformations in Post-Classical Greece. My contribution to this celebration of Tim Gregory's career will focus upon changes in the religious landscape during the so-called Greek Dark Ages and Middle Byzantine period. Evidence from the archaeological remains of Middle Byzantine and Early Christian churches and from contemporary hagiography provides a useful lens for understanding how Middle Byzantine Greeks sought to imbue their lived space with memory and to construct continuity in the aftermath of the politically tumultuous 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries.

Introduction

The genesis of this article was a series of conversations with Tim Gregory over the course of archaeological fieldwork on the island of Kythera.[1] Tim introduced me to the island and to its saint, St. Theodore, and initiated a period of convergent research on the relationship between Middle Byzantine hagiography and the landscapes of the Peloponnese. For me, this was new ground; for Tim, this represented an ongoing interest in the relationship between Post-Classical texts and the material culture of southern Greece.[2] The following study draws largely upon the 10th-century *Life of St. Theodore of Kythera* and places that life at the intersection of the literary, political, archaeological, and sacred landscapes of the Peloponnese. In particular, I consider the way that the *Life of St. Theodore*, and other examples of Middle Byzantine hagiography from southern Greece, sought to exploit the interplay

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1   The conversations took place in 2002.
2   Gregory 1986, 1993, 2000.

between continuity and discontinuity, as a means of understanding the changes in the ecclesiastical and political map of the Peloponnese following the disruptions of the Early Byzantine period.

Theodore of Kythera is by no means a familiar saint to most scholars of either Middle Byzantine hagiography or the Post-Classical landscape of the Peloponnese.[3] His *Life* is obscure existing in only two 16th-century manuscripts. St. Theodore was a saint of only local importance, as he appears neither in the major *synaxaria* of Constantinople nor in wall paintings outside the island of Kythera itself.[4] In contrast to more famous Middle Byzantine narratives, *the Life of St. Theodore* presents us with a particularly intimate perspective on the saint's era and milieu. The hagiographer, an otherwise unknown Leo, was clearly familiar with the southern Peloponnese and claims to have drawn from sources who possessed personal knowledge of the saint.[5] In particular, Leo's sources seem to derive from the city of Monemvasia, and it is likely that Leo was a native of that city. Leo's familiarity with the saint and the local environment allowed him to produce a *Life* that resonated deeply with the political, religious, and literary life of the Middle Byzantine southern Peloponnese.[6]

This paper will argue that Leo sought to situate the extraordinary experiences of the saint within a mnemonic landscape that reflected both the emerging political power of Monemvasia and everyday life in the southern Peloponnese. Hagiographic texts, while not universally political, were particularly suitable for the construction of mnemonic landscapes because they served to mediate between everyday experience and the world of the transcendent sacred which contributed meaning and significance to the individual's surroundings. The methods used by Byzantine texts to fuse divine authority with lived experience varied widely. Many saints' lives infused the landscapes of everyday life and the social memory of everyday experience with religious significance through the ritualized contexts in which they circulated. Their religious contexts ranged from liturgical commemorations to extra-liturgical religious festivals and individual acts of pilgrimage.[7] When the literary lives of local saints formed the centers of these personal and public rituals, these texts fulfilled their commemorative function by placing those activities of the saint that reflected a divine authority and a transcendent, sacred reality, within a familiar and tangible environment. In order to do this, hagiographers employed a range of stylistic and narratological techniques to interweave the ahistorical indicators of transcendent sanctity with the familiar aspects of the life and deeds of a holy man or woman. The content, form, and ritual context of the text allowed the hagiographer to mediate between human memory and the timeless sacred in a way parallel to the

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3   See Oikonomides 1967, pp. 264–291 for basic text of the life and introduction. In all subsequent citations, this will appear as: Ὁ βίος, followed by the paragraph number.

4   Chatzidakis and Bitha 1997, pp. 101, 111, 138, 187, 206, 247, 295, 306–308, 313.

5   Ὁ βίος, 21.

6   Kalligas 1990, pp. 62–63. For Kythera specifically, see Herrin 1972, pp. 41–51; Maltezou 1997, pp. 305–314. For general consideration of this topic, see Bon 1951.

7   There is remarkably little work on the performance of Byzantine hagiography in a liturgical context, although we must assume that this would be an important part of the veneration of a saint. For some hints at this, see Vyronis Jr. 1981.

saint's mediation between the concerns of a community and divine munificence.[8] These texts ultimately constructed a physical, social, or even political landscape, both within and outside the narrative of the saint's life, and validated this landscape by linking it to divine authority. Such authoritative landscapes were particularly significant during the 9th and 10th centuries in Greece as the Byzantine state and local institutions sought to reassert authority over the Peloponnese after the political and social upheavals of the Early Byzantine Dark Ages.[9]

The Saint, His Life, and Deeds

St. Theodore of Kythera was born in Koroni in southern Messenia at some time in the first half of the 10th century. He received an ecclesiastical education before being orphaned young as was so typical of Byzantine saints. He grew up in Nauplion in the Argolid and was reared by the *protopapas* of that city, a family friend. As he reached adulthood, he developed a reputation for sanctity which brought him to the attention of the local bishop, the poorly known Theodore of Argos, who ordained him deacon. At this time Theodore was struck with an exceptional melancholia for the sins of the world. This sadness persisted, despite his efforts to seek solace in worldly affairs by entering traditional married life. His sorrow eventually led him to leave his family and to flee Nauplion for Rome, where he hoped to find the key to spiritual fulfillment in monastic life. Finding Rome a rather worldly place, however, he moved on to Monemvasia, whence he desired to travel to the island of Kythera in order to live a life of strict asceticism removed from the luxuries of the world.[10] For Theodore, Kythera represented an ideal retreat since, according to the *Life*, it had been abandoned on account of the Arab presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. Unfortunately for our saint, these same Arab raiders initially made passage to this island impossible. In Monemvasia Theodore lived in a church of the Panagia Diakonia where he prayed ceaselessly.[11] During his stay there, his wife contacted him, and, through the help of the local bishop, she passed on to him a letter imploring him to return home, so that she could receive his permission to be tonsured. Theodore was able to discern the hand of the devil in this request and ignored it. After a year, during which he avoided any other temptation associated with life in Monemvasia, he arranged passage to the island of Kythera with the Byzantine fleet, which had arrived in Monemvasia after its successful campaigns around Crete. After a spirited clash with a band of Muslim pirates who had hidden out in Kytherian waters, the victorious fleet deposited Theodore on the island with a friend and fellow ascetic, Antonios. They took up residence in an existing church dedicated to SS. Sergius and Bacchus. There, after a short period of intense asceticism, during which Antonios

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8   Brown 1981, pp. 84–126, summarizes some of these ideas when he explores the tension between *presentia* and *potentia*.

9   For other examples of this, albeit earlier, see Herrin 1973.

10   McCormick 2001 does not include *The Life of St. Theodore* in his list of texts containing evidence of Mediterranean travel.

11   Kalligas 1990, pp. 62–63, identifies this church with the so-called "lower monastery," or Katechoumena, in the lower city of Monemvasia.

returned to the softer life of Monemvasia, Theodore died. Shortly after his death, a group of soldiers who had come to worship at the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus found his body, but they left it where it lay. Sometime later still, a group of hunters from Monemvasia discovered his still uncorrupted body, venerated it with tears, and interred it in the church.

Literary Convention and Christian Traditions

Many of the literary conventions used in describing the life and deeds of a Middle Byzantine saint are rather familiar and perhaps do not require an overly detailed description. Nevertheless, some elements of the *Life of St. Theodore* are worth discussing briefly, in that they serve not only to validate the sanctity of the saint in universal, ahistorical terms, but also to embed the saint in his particular historical and religious environment.

Saints were commonly described using language and exemplars from both the New and Old Testaments and in this regard, Theodore is not exceptional.[12] His *Life* opens with the well-known story of the vineyard keeper from Matthew 20:1–16. Leo read this passage exegetically through the work of St. Gregory the Theologian, who referred to it several times in his writings.[13] Later in the *Life*, Leo embellished his description of Theodore's deeds with quotations or paraphrases from the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and even the Epistle to Philemon.[14] He compared St. Theodore's willingness to leave his homeland to Abraham's, his willingness to retreat to the desert to Elijah's, his mourning the sins of the world to Jeremiah's, and his safety despite danger to Daniel's.[15] Theodore's asceticism is paralleled to St. Anthony's asceticism, and his life is compared to the writings and poetry of St. Theodore Stoudios.[16] The practice of drawing on Biblical and patristic texts, in order to enliven a narrative, succeeded in placing the saint and his deeds squarely amidst Christian traditions that started with scripture and passed through the work of the Fathers of the Early Church.

The author also linked St. Theodore to the lives of other saints who were venerated on the island during the Middle Byzantine period. Through the use of simile and metaphor, Theodore's asceticism is compared to the suffering of St. Demetrios, and his miracles to those of St. Nicholas.[17] The former saint was particularly venerated on Kythera, as elsewhere throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, and he gave his name to the largest Byzantine settlement on the island, now known simply as Paliochora. St. Nicholas was likely a more recent arrival in the Peloponnesian hagiographic

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12   See Krueger 2004, pp. 33–62, for a discussion of this for an earlier period.

13   Ὁ βίος, 1. The parable comes from Matt. 20.1–16 and is one of the favorite passages of Gregory the Theologian. Leo makes reference to Gregory the Theologian's exegesis, which is likely to be *Or*. 40.20–21, but he also referred to this same parable in *Or*. 16.4 and in the *Greek Anthology* 8.18.

14   Ὁ βίος, 9, 7, 4 respectively.

15   Ὁ βίος, 21.

16   Ὁ βίος, 21–22.

17   Ὁ βίος, 2.

landscape. His particular penchant for helping sailors made him especially prominent on islands during the Arab raids of the 9th and 10th centuries.[18] Interestingly, the text explicitly puts the latter saint in a secondary position to St. Theodore, who is touted not only as a vigilant protector from Arab raiders but also as an aid to sailors in distress—a viable, local alternative, it would seem, to St. Nicholas's pan-Aegean appeal. Despite these rivalries, the reference to other significant saints in the area established the position of St. Theodore in the Byzantine hagiographic pantheon and like references to the New Testament and the Greek Fathers, tied the life and deeds of a local man to the wider world of Christian tradition.

The narrative structures used to extol the virtues and powers of St. Theodore are common to the hagiography of the Middle Byzantine period. Like many Middle Byzantine saints, Theodore was an orphan, and, as an adult, left his wife and children to pursue a life of devotion to God. Such separation from one's family served to reflect the saint's isolation from the world and his willingness to follow an ascetic life.[19] Moreover, Theodore's struggles to get to Kythera—from his disappointments in Rome to the Arab pirates—accentuated the saint's devotion to an ascetic life.[20]

In other ways, the *Life of St. Theodore* is more unusual. It is representative of a relatively small number of strictly eremitic saints' lives from the Post-Iconoclastic era, which neither place their subjects within a monastic community nor subject to some ecclesiastical authority.[21] In fact, when individuals with strong eremitic impulses appear in Middle Byzantine *Lives*, they tend, like St. Peter of Argos, to be dragged out of their solitary, contemplative existence and to be given positions of social prominence within their respective communities.[22] Others, as was the case with St. Luke of Steiri, were reprimanded for an excessive desire for a hermetic existence and ultimately became associated with a local monastery.[23] St. Theodore, in contrast, was never forced into a local monastery, nor was he pressed into ecclesiastical service. Moreover, the *Life of St. Theodore* has a mildly anti-clerical tone in places; he fled from his ordained post as a deacon and found the hand of the devil at work in a letter from his wife passed through the local bishop.[24] Finally, far from being a typical founder of a monastic community, his personal charisma was such that his only follower fled from his side to return to the comfort of Monemvasia, thereby ensuring neither spiritual progeny nor legacy beyond his uncorrupted corpse. In this way, his *Life* might be understood as an echo of Early Christian traditions of asceticism, such as those followed by the Desert Fathers of Egypt, who frequently lived and died alone, victims of their ascetic impulse.[25]

While the eremetic nature of the *Life of St. Theodore of Kythera* is relatively unusual for the period, it may well reflect the text's local literary environment. The

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18 Ševčenko and Ševčenko 1984, pp. 13–14.

19 Browning 1981, p. 120.

20 See Elliot 1987 for a general treatment of this trope.

21 Kazhdan 1985a; Browning 1981, pp. 118–119; Morris 1995, pp. 57–64, for a more nuanced reading of the role of eremitic saints in the 10th and 11th centuries.

22 Kyriakopoulos 1976, pp. 9–10.

23 Kazhdan 1985a, p. 480 ; C. Connor and R. Connor 1994, p. 18.

24 Ὁ βίος, 10–11.

25 For the classic overview of Egyptian monasticism, see Chitty 1966.

prominence of Monemvasia in this text, including references to specific churches, recommends a Monemvasiote provenance for the *Life* and provides a possible insight into the unusual character of this text. The author, Leo, would have been a slightly later contemporary of Bishop Paul of Monemvasia, who was the author of a series of didactic tales based on the lives of the Desert Fathers.[26] While it is likely that Paul was not a native of Monemvasia and perhaps spent considerable time outside his see, it is nevertheless clear that these tales were known at Monemvasia by the end of the 9th century.[27] In fact, Paul's tales seem to have inspired at least three additional tales of a similar kind by an author other than Paul. These tales circulated with Paul's stories, and have a clear Monemvasiote origin as well.[28] It is likely that the existence of these tales reflects not only Paul's probable roots in the monastic communities of Mt. Latros in Asia Minor, but also the developing center of monastic life on Cape Malea in the rugged hinterland of the Peloponnesian city.[29]

Of particular note among this collection of "spiritually beneficial tales" produced in the vicinity of Monemvasia is the presence of three variations on the story of Mary of Egypt—tales 1, 12, and 15—two of which, tales 1 and 12, seem likely to have been authored by Paul. The story of Mary of Egypt and its close variants have a long tradition in Early Christian literature, with versions appearing in works of John Moschos and Cyril of Skythopolis.[30] Its popularity persisted into the Middle Byzantine period, with a well-known 10th-century version being the *Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos*, composed by a prominent Constantinopolitan Niketas Magistros.[31]

Some of these Middle Byzantine revisions of the *Life of Mary* have characteristics particularly relevant to our study of the *Life of St. Theodore*. First, St. Mary of Egypt fled a life of sinfulness into the desert. In Paul of Monemvasia's Tale 12 and in the *Life of Theoktiste*, the desert refuge from the world has become an island. This is not surprising, because, during the iconoclastic controversy, islands had become places of exile for iconophile monks.[32] Moreover, the abandonment of certain Greek islands as a result of the threats of Arab pirates appears in other 9th- and 10th-century lives from Greece and the Aegean, including the *Life of Theoktiste*, the *Life of Peter of Argos*, the *Life of Luke of Steiri*, the *Life of Athanasia of Aegina*, and the *Life of Theodora of Thessaloniki*.[33] For Theodore and Theoktiste, this detail transformed the islands of Kythera and Paros respectively, into local deserts where the eremitic impulse could be effectively pursued. Moreover, the threat of Arab raiders, as well as the difficulties inherent in pre-modern seafaring, provided suitable challenges for saints to overcome on their way to achieving sanctity.[34] Additional

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26   Wortley 1987, 1996.
27   Wortley 1996, pp. 43–44.
28   Wortley 1996, pp. 39–43; Peeters 1911, pp. 301–304.
29   Kalligas 1990, p. 63.
30   Cyr. Skyth. 233–234; Moschos, *Prat. Spir.* 205; Kouli 1996, pp. 65–68.
31   Hero 1996, pp. 96–98; Kazhdan 1985b, pp. 49–50; Delehaye 1924, pp. 191–197.
32   E.g., Domingo-Foraste 1998, pp. 182–186; Malamut 1989. For a general treatment of the topos of the island in literature, see Brun 1993, pp. 165–183.
33   Vasiliev 1947, pp. 163–191.
34   Elliot 1987.

similarities between the lives of Theodore and Theoktiste included their both settling in previously-built churches, and also the discovery of both saints by hunters who had stopped on the island to hunt wild goat. In the case of St. Theodore, the hunters discovered him after his death, whereas, in the case of Theoktiste, and in the tales recorded by Paul of Monemvasia, the saints were alive. Despite these differences, there would appear to be a key resonance between these *Lives*. In this analysis, then, the distinctive historical characteristics of the *Life of St. Theoktiste* and the *Life of St. Theodore* not only evoke one another, but, more importantly, they tie the particular character of the Middle Byzantine eastern Mediterranean back to models of sanctity prevalent in the context of Early Christian ascetic practice, such as the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*.

That St. Theodore settled in a church dedicated to SS. Sergius and Bacchus might provide another reference to the Early Christian ascetic influences in the *Life*. While these two saints were hardly unknown to Greece—St. Sergius appears in a 7th-century mosaic at St. Demitrius in Thessaloniki—they are eastern saints, associated with Syria, one of the heartlands of Eastern monasticism. Moreover, their Syrian origins also associated them with the frontier, particularly the border between East and West, between the Christian world of Rome and the Muslim world of the Arabs. In a general way, the dedication of the church may have reinforced the liminal, desert-like quality of St. Theodore's Kythera.[35]

The use of Biblical metaphors, patristic allusions, Early Christian genres, and popular Middle Byzantine saints, in *The Life of St. Theodore* and other Middle Byzantine saints' lives, was a literary convention that functioned to place the saint and his or her experiences within a historical continuum, encompassing all of Judeo-Christian time from the Old Testament to the present. At the same time, however, this process collapsed human history by making the experience of the saint indistinct from those experiences recorded at any point within the Christian continuum. Thus, the saint's life performs the paradoxical task of embedding an individual in Christian sacred history, which itself draws authority from the timeless character of its sanctity.

Constructing a Local Sense of Place

While the literary traditions and allusions employed by the author of the *Life of St. Theodore* place the text within a largely ahistorical tradition of Christian holiness, the physical spaces central to the life serve to place the saint within a specific local, historical context. While many scholars of Byzantine hagiography have sought evidence for historical or local *realia* in order to enrich our understanding of the world in which these holy men lived, I propose to offer a slightly more general, and possibly more nuanced approach to this same issue. A text like a saint's life becomes an opportunity for us to study the process of creating a mnemonic landscape that fuses the life of a saint with the local context of the Middle Byzantine world. This involves a reciprocal relationship, between those "real" or pre-existing

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35 Fowden 1999, pp. 26–44.

perceptions of the landscape that endow a hagiographic narrative with a familiar verisimilitude, and those elements of the narrative that impart the landscape with sacred significance. In this regard, the saint's life fused a diachronic narrative with local significance to an image of the saint that invited a synchronic interpretation with earlier exemplars of sanctity.[36] This interplay between timeless sanctity and historical specificity served to mediate between the transcendent and the mundane, and thus parallels one of the primary functions of Byzantine liturgy which sought to evoke the ahistorical, mystagogic significance of the liturgy while simultaneously realizing its commemorative function.[37]

Inventio and Continuity

A particularly common element in these texts is the presence of Early Christian architecture of the 5th to the 7th centuries. The abandoned or neglected holy place has a long history as a literary topos in hagiography. The lives of St. Nikon, St. Athanasia of Aegina, St. Theoktiste of Lesbos, and, of course, St. Theodore located these individuals' sanctity at various times amidst the pre-existing, Early Christian sacred landscape. St. Nikon (while on Crete) spent the night among the ruins of an Early Christian church, and was visited by an angel who instructed him to rebuild the church before moving on.[38] St. Athanasia founded a monastery around an Early Christian church dedicated to St. Stephen, which seems to have been in ruinous condition, since, later in her *Life*, she is credited with rebuilding it.[39] Finally, as we have already noted, Theodore and Theoktiste both lived amidst churches that had been built earlier—in the case of Theoktiste the famous Katapoliani church of Paros, whose impressive architectural remains were explored and published by Jewell and Hasluck and others.[40] St. Theodore lived within the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, which was later renamed in his honor, rebuilt, and ultimately formed the core of his monastery and his cult on the island of Kythera.[41]

It is of course not surprising that Early Christian basilicas played a role in the hagiographic landscape. Early Christian basilicas in both ruined and standing condition must have been ubiquitous in the landscape of Middle Byzantine Greece. By the 7th century, literally hundreds of these buildings had been built in towns, villages, and the countryside of Greece. Even two centuries later, it is clear that many of these buildings were still visible even if they had collapsed some time earlier, as victims of seismic activity, foreign invaders, or the simple ravages of time and neglect. Moreover, it is also clear that numerous Early Christian churches were modified, repaired, and used, into the Middle Byzantine period. In other cases, a

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36   Brown 1981, pp. 86–105.

37   Similar observations have been offered by Krueger 2004, pp. 110–132. See also Harvey 1998, pp. 523–539. For the liturgy, see Taft 1992.

38   Sullivan 1987, p. 21.

39   Sherry 1996, pp. 7, 11.

40   Jewell and Hasluck 1920; Korres 1954; Aliprantis 1993.

41   While the *Life of St. Theodore* does not record the building of a church dedicated to the saint, other sources do. See, in particular, Sathas 1885, pp. 299–311.

new church was constructed on the spot of an Early Christian basilica, perhaps using the apse or walls as foundations. Equally common was the use of *spolia* from Early Christian basilicas in later structures; columns, capitals, and pieces of architectural sculpture adorned the interior and exterior of Middle Byzantine churches, having occasionally been transported some distance for this purpose.[42] Finally, the use of Christian basilicas as places of burial, even after their collapse, suggests that the religious significance associated with the buildings, and the rituals which took place there, persisted after the buildings had fallen out of use.

Any evidence for Early Christian foundations for the present Middle Byzantine church of St. Theodore remains obscure, because no one has performed a formal architectural study of the building, beyond the brief discussion provided by Soteriou in the first part of the 20th century.[43] The narthex of the church, where the saint is said to be buried today, may well be an earlier construction, since it stands on a different orientation from the rest of the building. Today, the elevation of this narthex suggests an 18th- or 19th-century date, but its awkward relationship with the main body of the church admits the possibility of earlier foundations. While it is impossible to argue that these are the remains of the earlier church dedicated to SS. Sergius and Bacchus, they could well have been part of an earlier building on this spot. The existence of clear evidence for this practice elsewhere on the island of Kythera makes this speculation more appealing; at least four other Early Byzantine churches on the island preserve to various degrees the remains of Early Christian predecessors: St. George "tou Vounou," St. Panteleimon, SS. Kosmas and Damianos, and St. Ioannis near Potamos.[44]

In certain ways, the remains of earlier, neglected, or abandoned sacred spaces in the landscape, both in the *Life of St. Theodore* and in other Middle Byzantine lives, resonate with the literary genre of *inventio*. Tales of *inventio* describe the rediscovery of a sacred object that had been lost, particularly an icon or a relic, but occasionally a church as well. Typically, these stories emphasize the role of divine revelation or miraculous intervention in the act of rediscovery. The most famous example of *inventio*, the *Inventio Crucis*, is a story circulated as early as the 5th century that describes the rediscovery of the True Cross by Constantine's mother Helen.[45] Numerous other influential narratives of *inventio* exist, and the genre has persisted into modern times. While St. Theodore's settling into an earlier church is not a formal *inventio*, it does contain some characteristics of the genre. In particular, the story places the saint within a pre-existing, yet neglected sacred space, which, through the piety and sanctity of St. Theodore, became re-dedicated to the memory of this new holy man. This transformation appears in the concluding section of the

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42   The use of Early Christian *spolia* is not particularly well-studied. See, however, Kinney 1996, pp. 83–87; Bowden 2003, pp. 116–121, 147–151.

43   Soteriou 1923, pp. 313–332.

44   Herrin 1972, pp. 41–51; Maltezou 1997, pp. 305–307.

45   For the *Inventio Crucis*, see Drijvers and Drijvers 1997. See Jacobs 2004, pp. 174–191, for a brief summary of *inventio* in the context of the Early Christian Holy Land. See Hansen 2003, pp. 169–173, for a discussion of *spolia* and architecture.

Life, where the author refers to the tomb of St. Theodore as the site of this saint's healing power.[46]

Holy persons and holy places seem, in fact, to attract one another and mutually to affirm one another's sanctity. Theodore's ultimate appropriation of the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in some ways validated the sanctity of St. Theodore as a worthy successor, while at the same time Theodore's sanctity overwrote the earlier memory of the previous dedicatees. That Theodore was able to overwrite, to a certain extent, the memory of SS. Sergius and Bacchus reflects a key component of many *inventio* stories: the identity of the individual who discovers the sacred object becomes tied to the object, and shares in its sanctity.

Abandonment and Discontinuity

The condition that allowed Theodore to overwrite the memory of SS. Sergius and Bacchus was the abandonment of the island of Kythera. The abandoned island served a dual role, as a desert for Theodore's ascetic feats and as a site of historical discontinuity. While the historical context for the Arab raids on both the islands and the Peloponnese is hardly clear, several sources attest to the depopulation of islands, which were particularly exposed to these dangers. Aegina, Paros, and Kythera were all said to have been depopulated by the threat of Arab raiders who also attacked coastal communities on the mainland as well.[47] Whether these islands were totally abandoned is difficult at this point to assess, and it is likely that our gradually increasing knowledge of the archaeological material from the so-called Byzantine Dark Ages will shed valuable light on this issue. At present, however, it is clear that the memory of the Arab raids and the general disruptions of the 7th to the 9th centuries featured prominently in hagiography from Greece. The threat of Arab raiders became, of course, the backdrop for St. Theodore's arrival on the island, and this danger was compounded by the hardships associated with an abandoned and uncivilized place—the cold, the lack of food, and loneliness. These depredations led his companion Antonios to return to the relative comfort of his cell in Monemvasia and led ultimately to St. Theodore's death after a mere 11 months.

Theodore's asceticism, however, transformed Kythera and allowed the *Life* to claim for Theodore the title of *oikistis*, "founder" of the island. Like the desert fathers in Egypt, Theodore transformed the deserted island into a city.[48] Moreover, the re-founding of the island by a saint from Monemvasia (and his body's subsequent discovery by hunters from the same city) has several implications for how we understand the role of abandonment and historical discontinuity of settlement on Kythera. During the 9th and particularly the 10th centuries, Monemvasia emerged as an important economic and political power in the region and supplanted Sparta and Argos as the most influential center of the south-eastern Peloponnese.[49] Monemvasia, however, was a relatively new city—especially compared to other cities of the

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46   Ὁ βίος, 24.
47   Setton 1954, pp. 311–319; Vasiliev 1947, pp. 163–191.
48   Athanasius, *Vita Antoni*, 14.
49   Kalligas 2002, pp. 880–897.

Peloponnese, such as Sparta, Corinth, Argos, or Patras—and this newness lent greater significance to its efforts to "invent tradition" in order to establish its place of authority within the new order.[50] Several sources, including *The Chronicle of Monemvasia*, a difficult document, perhaps contemporary with the *Life of St. Theodore of Kythera*, reflect a similar interest in substantiating Monemvasiote authority in the Peloponnese, on the basis of appeals alternately to continuity—especially with the population of Sparta—and discontinuity—especially regarding the abandonment of many communities in the Peloponnese.[51] It is not the place of this article to argue whether such abandonment actually occurred, but rather to note simply that such episodes of abandonment can serve to justify shifting patterns of authority. The interest in continuity of sacred space, breached only by the abandonment of the island, would seem to reflect a strategy which appeals to tradition while at the same time explicating change.

Conclusions: Time and Space beyond Memory

The *Life of St. Theodore* embodies the tension between the timelessness of sanctity and the historical world of the lived, political, and social landscape. On the one hand, familiar and historical points of reference to Monemvasia, to a church to SS. Sergius and Bacchus, to the Arab raiders, and to the Byzantine fleet, ensure that the holy man existed within and sanctified a particular political and social context. On the other hand, the sanctity offered to the historical context by the Middle Byzantine saint is deeply rooted in a transcendent narrative filled with scripture, holy figures, and timeless literary tropes, which serve to collapse Christian time. This sanctifying narrative encodes the familiar time and place of local memory, ensuring that sacred sites are no longer subject to the processes which affect sites in ordinary space, such as neglect, destruction, and ultimately oblivion. Sacred space shines forth across the landscape and becomes one with the sacred time of the hagiographic narrative itself.

If memory can exist only in the presence of its opposite—obscurity, oblivion, and forgetfulness—then the saint's life, by ensuring that the saint be not forgotten, embeds the saint in a compressed, sanctified, ahistorical narrative, which preserves familiar places in the landscape from the lasting effects of time. This process eradicates memory, by eliminating the possibility of forgetting. Thus, the Middle Byzantine hagiographic landscape provided the inhabitants of Greece with places fixed outside the course of time and outside the realm of human experience. At the same time, these sacred places emerge only through the details of narratives that function to make it comprehensible to participants in the ephemeral political, social, and economic realities of everyday life.

This intersection of the timeless and ephemeral in our narrative is nowhere more clear than at the end of St. Theodore's life. St. Theodore was one of a number of

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50   Hobsbawm and Ranger 1984.

51   For the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, see Lemerle 1963, pp. 5–49; Kalligas 1990, pp. 1–34.

Byzantine saints who were privileged to know the day of his death.[52] In fact, when the soldiers found him, he was lying next to a potsherd, a quintessentially mundane object, inscribed with the text, "I, Theodore, humble deacon, laid down in sickness on April 7th, and I died on the 12th of May, on the day of the Holy Epiphany." Here time has truly collapsed, as an ordinary object made manifest that an ordinary man at the very hour of his death gained a glimpse of the divine mind, in which time does not exist.

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52   See Munitiz 2001, pp. 10–20, for a treatment of this issue.

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Leo's Peloponnesian Fire-Tower and the Byzantine Watch-Tower on Acrocorinth

Joseph L. Rife

Abstract

This chapter discusses a remarkable inscription collected by Venetians from the Peloponnese (*CIG* 8620) and an impressive tower excavated in 1926 on Acrocorinth. The inscription states that an emperor Leo (VI) erected a beacon to signal by fire the advance of barbarians (Arabs). This stone probably originated from a Middle Byzantine tower with a commanding view on the summit of Acrocorinth. The fire-tower and the watch-tower, most likely one and the same, attest to an Imperial effort for long-distance communication in southern Greece during the late 9th and early 10th centuries. This reflects a general recovery after the "dark age" and a new sense of regional cohesion.

It would be hard to define and to separate the many layers of knowledge that Professor Gregory has developed throughout his career, so multiform is his intellect. But, among these pursuits, one can surely single out as especially innovative and influential his research on the Byzantine Corinthia, the archaeology of fortifications, and the historical geography of regions. If this paper makes some small contribution in those fields, it is because, like a beacon, he has shown the way to a young mind.

One of Professor Gregory's intellectual forebears, the great medievalist Antoine Bon, first addressed the problem of the actual beacon at the heart of this study. A remarkable inscription of Byzantine date, removed from the Peloponnese to Venice during the 18th century, refers to the construction by an emperor Leo of a tower to warn by fire of barbarian attack (*CIG* 8620). The tower apparently belonged to a warning system that enabled messages to be transmitted rapidly by means of fire-signals. While the exact spot where the inscription was found remains unknown, Bon made, in two footnotes, the intriguing suggestion that an enormous Byzantine watch-tower, excavated at the summit of Acrocorinth in 1926, was Leo's Peloponnesian fire-tower. Scholars after Bon have favorably repeated his theory, but none has explored the possibility further, let alone substantiated it.[1]

A close examination of the form of the tower, and its context on Acrocorinth, will show that it can plausibly be identified as a beacon erected by Leo VI (886–912) to send early warning of Arab attacks. Since neither the tower itself nor any record

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1   *Corinth* III.2, p. 131, n. 2 and Bon 1951, p. 52 n. 3; cf. Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, pp. 299–300 and Lemerle 1986, p. 180 n. 31.

of the inscription's provenance survive, the case cannot be proven beyond doubt. Nonetheless, a preponderance of archaeological and historical evidence supports this interpretation. Even if the Byzantine watch-tower on Acrocorinth was not Leo's Peloponnesian fire-tower, it must have sent signals, and its existence demonstrates that telegraphy was employed during the 9th or 10th century in the northeastern Peloponnese. The tower on Acrocorinth either warned communities in the immediate vicinity and along the coasts, or it anchored a series of beacons stretching eastward and southward into the Corinthia and the Argolid beyond. The structure provides important evidence for Imperial attention to the Corinthia during an otherwise obscure period, when the region was slowly recovering from the Early Byzantine "dark age." The lookout on Acrocorinth further reflects the evolution of Greek fortification from the Late Roman to the Middle Byzantine periods. A universal strategy for defending southern Greece was impossible to implement during the first Byzantine centuries. Regional security during this era had grown unstable, as urban activity had become circumscribed and the countryside had dispersed into small settlements..By the 9th century, though the security of individual communities still depended on self-defense, networks of lookouts and signals enhanced military intelligence, facilitated long-distance communication, and improved regional cohesion.

Leo's Peloponnesian Fire-Tower

The inscription on which Bon based his theory had a long history before it came to the Villa Contarini Simes at Piazzola sul Brenta, northwest of Padova, where it now resides. In the early 20th century, Paolo Camerini acquired the stone among several other Greek and Latin inscriptions from the Villa Pagani in nearby Legnaro. It had been there for nearly a century after its purchase from the famous Museum Nanianum. During the middle to late 18th century, the senators Iacopo and Bernardo Nani amassed and exhibited the most impressive collection of antiquities in Venice at their palazzo near San Trovaso. They had obtained many of the pieces in 1750–1760 from Dalmatian, Epirote, Ionian, and Peloponnesian sources during either travel in the region or activity on Corfu, where Iacopo had served in an official capacity.[2] The origin of the inscription citing Leo's fire-tower is recorded only as "Peloponnesus." The stone would have been extracted from a prominent site during the Venetian dominion of the Morea (1687–1715) and sent to a stable colonial center, such as Corfu, where it remained without recorded provenance, until it was acquired by the Nani and exported to Venice. Other stones in this collection had followed a similar path. One statue-base of Hadrian (*IG* V.1 1352) had been found at Abia in Messenia, but stayed at Corfu until its removal to Venice in 1759. Another inscription, a dedication to Antoninus Pius (*CIL* III.1 574), had been taken from an

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2   Agostinetti 1980 traces the history of the collection at the Villa Contarini Simes and briefly describes the text under study (p. 187, no. 11); see also Guillou 1995, pp. 130–1 and 1996, pp. 39, 41. References to the same stone in the Museum Nanianum can be found at Biagi 1785, p. 143, and Driuzzo 1815, p. 12, no. VI.64.

unnamed Peloponnesian site in 1706, during Venetian sovereignty.[3] Where and when the Nani acquired it is unknown, but Corfu in the 1750s are reasonable guesses.

The stone holds several clues to its original date and setting. The text, in four lines, which has been edited most recently by André Guillou,[4] is as follows, with a translation by the author:

+ Ἄναξ Λέων ἔστησε πύρ-
γον ἐν(θ)άδε + Λύχνῳ προφαί-
νειν τοὺς λόχους τῶν βαρβάρων
+ Χ
Lord Leo erected here
a tower to send signal by lamp
of bands of barbarians.

These words appear near the top on one face of a block of pale, fine-grained limestone that shows no significant damage apart from slight abrasion around the edges, presumably from the stone's initial removal, transport, and handling by successive collectors (Fig. 16.1). The inscribed face is slightly concave, and the substantial stone is cleanly cut into a somewhat thin rectangle (0.53 m high x 0.63 m wide x 0.25 m thick).[5] The letters are not very large (ca. 0.03 m high), but they are crisply and deeply cut with inconsistent spacing in irregular lines. Since the inscription names the builder of the tower, this stone would have been incorporated into its outer wall in a visible place, probably at eye-level or slightly higher, to judge from the size of the letters.

The variable letter forms, which have occasional serifs, are for the most part rectangular and circular, not narrow. The most distinctive forms are the alpha (triangular with bent bar), the beta (rounded loops and flat base), the epsilon (rectangular or lunate), the omicron (circular), the sigma (lunate and circular), and the omega (two equal, rounded loops). The only ornate form is the ligature of ρων at the end of line 3.

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3   Agostinetti 1980, p. 188, no. 21 suggests that, because the Nani collection generally dates to the 1750s, the date 1706 was an "errore di stampa" at Driuzzo 1815, p. 5, no. I.35. Rather than impugning the accuracy of Driuzzo, we might conclude that the inscription was found somewhere in the Peloponnese several decades before the Nani collected it.

4   Guillou 1995, pp. 129–31, no. 6, and 1996, pp. 39–41, no. 43. In addition to the works cited in n. 2, the text is given at Mai 1825, p. 357, no. 3, *CIG* 8620 (A. Kirchhoff), and Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, p. 299, no. 41. Philippidis-Braat's text omits the chi in line 4.

5   These physical details derive from the description given at Agostinetti 1980, p. 187, no. 11, and from the excellent photograph reproduced in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, pl. VIII:1. The author has not seen the stone.
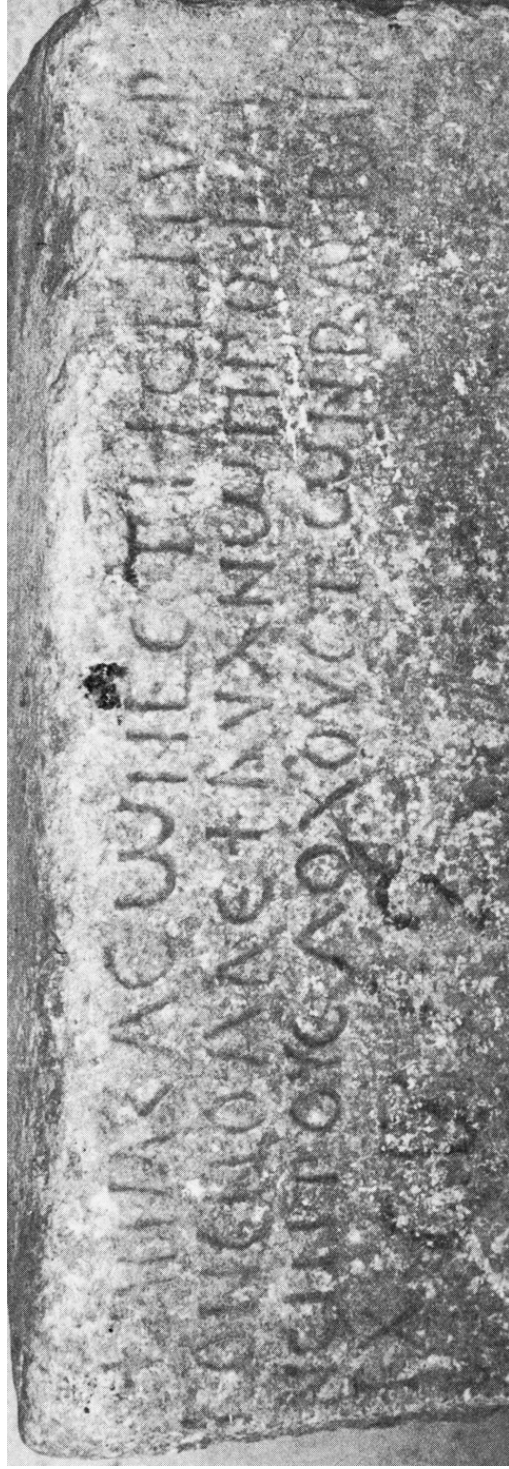
Fig. 16.1   Inscription announcing Leo's establishment of a fire-tower (reprinted from Guillou 1997, pl. 22, with the permission of A. Guillou)

The letters diverge from the standard forms of Late Roman and Early Byzantine inscriptions in the Peloponnese,[6] but generally conform with Middle Byzantine paleography in southern Greece.[7] In contrast, Late Byzantine texts of an official character from the region tend to show more regular lettering, more crowded spacing, and more attentuated forms, with finer delineation.[8] Just as the letters on this stone are characterized by their simplicity, so also the stavrograms have unadorned bars of equal length. The inscription's overall simplicity and irregularity do not bespeak informal or sloppy composition,[9] though the omission of the cross-bar of the theta in line 2 and the stray chi in line 4 (unfinished word or verse?) do suggest carelessness on the part of the epigrapher.

The form of the inscription is typical of the middle centuries of the Byzantine Empire. The text includes two verses in iambic trimeter, a common epigrammatic meter in Byzantine literature that was also used for official communication.[10] Inscriptions with iambic trimeters were posted on fortifications in Asia Minor to mark Imperial dedications, such as the towers along the walls of Constantinople by Leo III and Constantine V (ca. 740), Theophilus (829–842), Michael III and Bardas (856–865), and Romanus II (959–963), and the renovations to the circuit of Nicaea by Leo III (ca. 730).[11] Although these texts were of varied length, most contained only a few lines delimited by crosses, like the one under discussion.

The choice of words for the trimeters is striking. While the inscription uses the typical terminology for erecting a "tower" (πύργος) in the context of Byzantine cities, for erecting a "tower" (πύργος), other words reflect an interest in classicizing diction. Leo is referred to as a "lord" (ἄναξ), an ancient poetic designation of

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6   Cf. Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, pp. 269–298, nos. 1–40, and the Corinthian texts collected in Bees [1941] 1978 and *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 162–209, nos. 501–720; see Walbank and Walbank 2006 for a recent discussion of Late Antique Corinthian paleography.

7   For comparable letter forms, see, e.g., *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 211–212, no. 728, pl. 58 (Corinth, area of Julian Basilica, "9th or 10th century"), and Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, p. 300, no. 42, pl. VIII:2 (Pallandion, 903). The beta is reminiscent of the beta with flat base and horizontal extension that is characteristic of inscriptions in Asia Minor dating to the late 6th to 9th centuries (Foss 1984, p. 79, n. 6).

8   Cf., e.g., Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, p. 308, no. 50, pl. XII:1 (Tigani, 12th century?), pp. 308–309, no. 51, pl. XII:2 (Areia, 1149), p. 311, no. 54, pl. XIV:1 (Kranidion, Argolid, 1244–1245), pp. 320–321, no. 61, pl. XVIII:1 (Arkassades, Laconia, 1296–1297). Several fragmentary inscriptions from the area of the Roman Forum at Corinth, probably of Late Byzantine date, display similar features: *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 211, 213, nos. 724, 726, 735, pl. 60.

9   Cf. Guillou 1995, p. 130, and 1996, p. 40 ("La paléographie, aussi gauche, …")

10   On Byzantine lyric and epigrammatic forms in general, see Hunger 1978, pp. 158–173.

11   For Leo III and Constantine V, Towers 7, 34, 37, land-walls of Constantinople, see Meyer-Plath and Schneider 1943, pp. 124, 128, 130, nos. 7, 18, 24, Foss 1984, pp. 81–82; for Michael III and Bardas, sea-walls of Constantinople, see van Millingen 1899, p. 185, plate; for Theophilus, sea-walls of Constantinople, see van Millingen 1899, p. 183; for Romanus II, Tower 4, land-walls of Constantinople, see Meyer-Plath and Schneider 1943, p. 124 no. 4, Foss 1984, pp. 80–81; for Leo III, Tower 71, circuit of Nicaea, see Schneider and Karnapp 1938, p. 49, no. 29.

political authority, military might, and social prestige, in place of the usual epigraphic appellations for the Byzantine emperors (αὐτοκράτωρ, βασιλεύς, δεσπότης). The word ἄναξ is not unparalleled in verse-inscriptions on Byzantine fortifications.[12] It also appears in Late Antique and Byzantine literature, most often in verse, with reference to fictional royalty, historic emperors, or pagan or Christian divinity. The description of the beacon's purpose "to send a signal by lamp" (λύχνῳ προφαίνειν) does not echo the prosaic language of those passages that discuss the best-known system of Byzantine fire-signals, the one connecting the eastern Cilician frontier to Constantinople during the 9th century, which will be discussed below. Instead of identifying the Peloponnesian tower as simply a "beacon" or "flare" (φανός, λάμπας), as did the writers on the Anatolian system,[13] the author of the verse-inscription used the metaphor of the tower as a "lamp" (λύχνος). Furthermore, the phrase "bands of barbarians" (οἱ λόχοι τῶν βαρβάρων) applies a standard Classical term for a military company, as would have, for instance, Xenophon or Arrian. The text thus exhibits a sophistication indicative of learning: it originated among those who appreciated the classical tradition, and drew a certain creative vigor from it.

These trimeters in mannered language refer to an optical telegraph, a means of communication well-known in the ancient and Byzantine worlds. This system involved a series of beacons, usually bonfires on platforms or towers, placed at elevated locales along lines of sight over great distances. The purpose was to send a signal of early warning about impending danger, particularly raiders or invaders. When the attendants at one station saw fire or smoke at a station in one direction, they would quickly ignite their beacon to send the signal to the next station in a different direction.[14] Telegraphy existed in the ancient world from early times. Indeed, most, if not all, geopolitical powers with a developed military organization seem to have employed fire-signals for strategic communication, and we can assume they were used by local authorities as well. Beacons for sending warnings or other messages were utilized by the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, Seleucids, Romans, and Medieval English. In the early Greek world, a far-flung network sent word of the victory at Troy back to the Argolid, and *poleis* used beacons to communicate during the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. A chain of beacons of Late Roman date has been plausibly reconstructed, running southward from Thermopylae through the upper Kephissos valley and the pass to Amphissa. This would have operated not

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12   For Theophilus, sea-walls of Constantinople, see van Millingen 1899, p. 183, Demangel and Mamboury 1939, pp. 11, 14, Foss and Winfield 1986, p. 70, fig. 33; for Basil II, 1024, sea-walls of Constantinople, see van Millingen 1899, p. 186; for the use of ἄναξ referring to Michael IX (1319–1320) in a dedication at St. Demetrius, see also Spieser 1973, pp. 171–173, no. 24. Guillou 1995, p. 130 and 1996, p. 40 note the use of ἄναξ in acclamations to the emperor recorded at Const. Porphyr. Cerem. 1.69, 1.74 ed. Vogt.

13   Ps.-Symeon *Chron.* (*CSHB*) pp. 681–682; Const. Porphyr. *Cerem.* (*CSHB*) p. 492; Theoph. Cont. (*CSHB*) pp. 197–198; John Scyl. *Syn. hist.* pp. 107–108 ed. Thurn; George Cedren. *Syn. hist.* (*CSHB*) II, pp. 174–175; John Zonar. *Epit. hist.* (*CSHB*) pp. 404–406. Zuckerman 1994, pp. 361–366 discusses an important contemporary description of the system of communication by "fire" (πυρσός) at *Apparatus bellicus* 76b ed. Thévenot.

14   The popular film *Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King* (directed by Peter Jackson, 2003) gives a memorable portrayal of exactly this form of communication.

only during the Avar and Slavic incursions of the late 6th and early 7th centuries, but also apparently during the Late Byzantine period, when a subsidiary route extended to Thebes.[15] The best attested example of the Byzantine era was employed by Theophilus and Michael III to warn of Arab invasion. Leo the Mathematician installed an elaborate system of clocks to permit the relay of specific messages from the first station, Loulon near the Cilician Gates, across the Anatolian plateau to the palace at Constantinople. If the telegraph was employed to maximum efficiency, a message could be sent over nine stations spanning about 450 miles in under one hour.[16]

Scholars have long debated which emperor named Leo built the Peloponnesian fire-tower. The paleography, meter, and language rule out the first two emperors Leo as too early (I, 457–474; II, 473–474),[17] leaving Leo III–Leo VI. Leo IV "the Khazar" (775–780) is impossible, because during his short reign he focused strategic efforts against the Abbasid caliphate and on an anticipated campaign against Kardam of Bulgaria. Leo III (717–41), Leo V (813–20), and Leo VI (886–911) have been the favorite choices for builder of the fire-tower.[18] To be sure, Leo III refurbished the fortifications of Constantinople and Nicaea,[19] and repelled the Arabs on the eastern front. But it is highly unlikely that he would have undertaken substantial fortification in southern Greece during a time when Imperial involvement in that region was at a low ebb, and when so much of the region was inhabited only by scattered communities of Greeks and Slavs. More importantly, the Peloponnese was not under immediate threat of invasion by "bands of barbarians" during the early 8th century.

The stone therefore referred either to Leo V or to Leo VI; this too is the consensus of the leading Byzantinists who have studied the inscription, including Bon himself, as well as Paul Lemerle, Anna Philippidis-Braat, and André Guillou. It is not coincidental that the function of the Peloponnesian tower recalls a beacon in the 9th-century telegraph from Cilicia to Constantinople. Emperors at the time evidently considered this to be an effective mode of long-distance communication in both Anatolia and Greece. Guillou alone attributed the tower to Leo VI, but argued that

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15   There are various ancient and Medieval examples: Dvornik 1974, pp. 19–20, 31–33, 42–43, 44, 67, 87, 117; Pattenden 1983, pp. 269–282; Clark and Parker 1987; Donaldson 1988. For beacons from Troy to the Argolid: Aesch. *Aga*. 1–39, 281–316. For watchtowers and beacons in central Greece: Koder and Hild 1976, p. 112; Cherf 1991, pp. 141–143; Rosser 1991, p. 151.

16   Ramsay [1890] 1972, pp. 20, 187, 351–353; Bury [1912] 1965, pp. 246–248; Bréhier 1949, pp. 331–333; Toynbee 1973, pp. 299–300; Aschoff 1980; Pattenden 1983; Foss and Winfield 1986, p. 18; Lemerle 1986, pp. 178–180.

17   Johannes Franz, one of the inscription's earliest commentators, incorrectly attributed the tower to Leo I (Boeckh et al. 1846–59, p. 291).

18   Hopf [1867] 1960, p. 39 (Leo III or V); Bury [1912] 1965, p. 378, n. 5 (Leo V); *Corinth* III.2, p. 131 n. 2 (Leo VI); Zakythinos 1945, p. 46 (Leo III); Bon 1951, p. 52, n. 3 (Leo V or VI); Agostinetti 1980, p. 187 (Leo III); Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, p. 300 (Leo V or VI); Lemerle 1986, p. 180 n. 31 (Leo V or VI); Guillou 1995, pp. 129–130, 1996, p. 40 (Leo VI); Avramea 1997, p. 101, n. 154 (Leo III).

19   Foss and Winfield 1986, pp. 42, 53, 82, 90, 100, 111–113, 115; pp. 132–135 propose also his involvement at Ephesus.

the "bands of barbarians" were Slavs, specifically those groups settled on Taygetos.[20] The Melingoi and Ezeritai are known to have paid tribute and revolted during the middle 10th century, but, like other established tribes, they were gradually adopting Greek culture and Christianity. There is no evidence that they posed a serious threat to Peloponnesian security during the 9th or early 10th century. By that time, the Byzantine administration had more or less secured its control of southern Greece, and authorities had turned their attention to invaders of eastern origin. During this era in the Peloponnese, "bands of barbarians" would have meant the Arabs who harassed maritime traffic and raided both island and coastal settlements, from around the time of their establishment on Crete in the mid 820s until the Byzantine recovery of Crete in 961. Leo V did see to fortifications, particularly the northern circuit of Constantinople,[21] but he died in 820, before the entrenchment of the Arabs on Crete and their expansive activity in Greek waters. Thus, we must conclude that Leo VI erected the fire-tower.

During his reign, the Empire faced foreign opposition and defeat on all sides, including the losses to Tsar Symeon at Boulgarophygon (896) and to the Arabs on Sicily (902), Leo of Tripoli's sack of Thessalonica (904), Oleg's attack on Constantinople (907), and the decimation of the navy under Himerius (912).[22] Throughout this period, the Arab threat to the Aegean Sea and Peloponnesian coasts was persistent and imminent. That Leo VI took an active interest in military strategy is demonstrated by his compilation of the *Taktika*[23] and by his reconstruction of a tower in the sea-walls of Constantinople in 906.[24] He wrote his manual in order to prepare the Empire for the Arab menace (*praef.*); so also did he erect the fire-tower in the Peloponnese. The disparagement of Leo's perceived ineptitude in foreign affairs and failure in military matters has been a common theme in both the Byzantine chronicles and modern scholarship. But his erection of the Peloponnesian fire-tower should contribute to an image of him as a commander who was not only actively concerned but even innovative in the Aegean arena.[25]

We can deduce the location of Leo's tower from historical circumstances in southern Greece during the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th centuries. Arab naval operations both from Cretan bases and from further afield had reached an apex by this time. The inscription announcing Leo's efforts against these "barbarians" would have been displayed on an important tower under Imperial control at a site that could be well defended. Arab ships threatened several parts of Greece, but the one area that was also an administrative and military center was the Corinthia. The other plausible location for the fire-tower is Patras. However, apart from its commercial and ecclesiastical importance, Patras was not a focus of Imperial administration, and

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20   Guillou 1995, p. 130, and 1996, pp. 40–41.

21   Foss and Winfield 1986, pp. 42, 50, 54, 60, 62, 66–67, 74.

22   Vasiliev 1968, pp. 156–181 provides a full narrative of Byzantine foreign relations under Leo VI.

23   Kolias 1984.

24   Van Millingen 1899, p. 187, n. 4.1; Demangel and Mamboury 1936, 1939, pp. 71–73; Foss and Winfield 1986, pp. 71, 74.

25   Karlin-Hayter 1967 and Tougher 1997, pp. 164–193 likewise urge a more positive evaluation of Leo VI in these areas of rulership.

the area's residents were surely fewer than the Corinthians and their neighbors in the northeastern Peloponnese. There is no historical or archaeological evidence to show that Nafplion during this period was sufficiently important to warrant such Imperial attention. In contrast, the relatively populous city of Corinth, well-protected by its Late Antique circuit and the towering citadel of Acrocorinth, was the capital of the Peloponnesian theme, and therefore the seat of the *stratêgos* and the provincial garrison.

A fire-tower at Corinth could have been used early and often to announce barbarian attacks by sea. The Arab presence in the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs during the 9th and 10th centuries was frequent. At the beginning of the 9th century, "African Saracens" (Ἀφρικοὶ Σαρακηνοί) joined the Slavic siege of Patras (Const. Porph. *Adm. imp*. 47.7–9).[26] Over subsequent decades, Arabs beset the Ionian Sea and the Corinthian Gulf from African and Sicilian bases. They raided Aetolian and Epirote cities such as Ambracia, Nicopolis,[27] and Buthrotum, where St. Elias was incarcerated as an Arab spy,[28] and they terrorized Greek sailors, such as the Corinthians who hesitated to ferry St. Gregory to Sicily (*V. s. Greg. Dec*. 11). Once the Arabs had conquered Crete, they pursued a naval campaign against the Byzantine Empire, in which they routinely raided the Aegean islands and the eastern shores of the Peloponnese.[29] Aegina suffered at least two attacks during the 9th century, both of which displaced residents to the mainland, including the families of St. Luke, St. Athanasia, and St. Theodora.[30] The *vita* of St. Peter records pillaging and massacres in the cities, towns, and islands of the Argolic Gulf (14–15) in the early 10th century;[31] we can assume concomitant disasters on the Saronic Gulf. Arab attacks across the Aegean, probably launched from Crete as well as Syria, grew acute in the years leading up to the sack of Thessalonica. Historical accounts record the devastation or abandonment of Paros, Naxos, Patmos, Samos, and Lemnos.[32] Considering the frequency of foreign traffic on Greek seaways, it is not surprising that Arabs sometimes ended up on Peloponnesian shores in bad weather, as did the

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26   Oikonomides 1996, p. 75 proposes that a passage in a canon by Joseph the Hymnographer (46.218–221 (III, p. 553)) praising St. Andrew for overthrowing the "numerous army of Arabs" (στρατὸν πολυάριθμον Ἀγαρηνῶν) referred to the uprising with the Slavs in ca. 805, or another raid in subsequent decades.

27   Const. Acrop. *De v. s. Barbari* 3 (p. 408.3–31); da Costa-Louillet 1961, pp. 309–313.

28   *V. s. Eliae Jun. Sic*. 2.26 (*AASS* Aug. 3.495B); da Costa-Louillet 1959–1960, pp. 101–102.

29   Christides 1981 and Savvides 1990, pp. 48–53 are useful historical surveys; Kordosis 1981, pp. 88–89 addresses the threat to the Corinthia.

30   *V. s. Lucae Jun*. 2; Greg. Cler., *V. s. Theod. Thess*. 3 (p. 2.25–7), 6 (pp. 3.35–4.10), 19 (p. 12.14–16), 45 (p. 26.21–23); *V. s. Athan*. 1.1 (*AASS* Aug. 3.170C–D). Christides 1981, pp. 87–89 gives historical commentary.

31   Vasiliev 1947, pp. 175–176; da Costa-Louillet 1961, pp. 322–323.

32   Vasiliev 1968, pp. 157–162, citing *V. s. Theoctistae Lesb.*, *AASS* Nov. 4.228–9 (Paros), John Camen. *Expug. Thess*. 68–69, 70 (Naxos, Patmos), Georg. Mon. Cont. *PG* 110.1093B–C, 1108A ed. Muralt (Samos, Lemnos).

Cretan marauder Babdel.[33] In 902, Arethas of Caesarea delivered an encomium on Leo that alluded to a military victory in Attica, quite possibly a repulsion of Arabs (*Or.* 5.6.107–9).[34] This would have placed the barbarians within close striking distance of the Corinthia. It is tempting to imagine that it was during those tense times at the opening of the 10th century that Leo VI built the tower at Corinth.

The new foreign presence in the region is also attested by the material culture of Byzantine Corinth. Excavations in the city, both in the center and on its outskirts, have uncovered artifacts dating from as early as the 9th to the 10th centuries that were either manufactured by Arabs, for example Abbasid coins and architecture bearing the Kufic script, or directly influenced by Islamic styles, for example sculpted reliefs, marble screens, and local imitations of eastern ceramics displaying Kufesque, or "pseudo-Kufic," motifs.[35] Some Arabs seem to have reached Corinth not as marauders, but either as traders or travelers who frequented the commercial center, or as artisans who resided there.

Alongside this process of interaction and assimilation, there remained the grave and real danger of destruction by "bands of barbarians." In the face of seaborne raids, many communities would have relied on local manpower and ingenuity for safety, unless they simply moved their homes or retreated into the mountainous interior.[36] Although no direct physical evidence for devastation has been found in the region, archaeologists have often attributed the decline or end of Early Byzantine settlements to Arab depredations.[37] The garrison at Corinth would have protected at least the city and its immediate neighbors, but it could not have aided residents further away in the countryside or on the coast, particularly during an unexpected assault. The security of this region carried far too much strategic significance to be overlooked by the emperor. At some point between 872–873 and 882–883, the admiral Nicetas Ooryphas led an expedition against the Arabs who had been ravaging Methone, Pylos, Patras, and "the towns neighboring Corinth" (τὰ προσεχῆ Κορίνθου χωρία, Theoph. Cont. 5.61 [p. 300.17–18]). He landed the Imperial fleet at Kenchreai, hauled the ships over the Isthmus in a single night, and decisively routed the enemy west of Corinth.[38] But the dispatch of special expeditions such as

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33   Jos. Genes. *Reg.* (*CSHB*) II, pp. 47–48.

34   Jenkins, Laourdas, and Mango 1954, pp. 14, 31. The negative treatment of an Arab occupation of Athens at this time by K. M. Setton (1954) did not address the testimony of Arethas.

35   *Corinth* XI, p. 32, fig. 21; *Corinth* XVI, pp. 106, 121, nos. 19, 177, 179, pls. 22, 35; Miles 1964, pp. 5, 19, 26, 32, 34, nn. 93, 134, 167, figs. 14, 52, 88, 93; Sanders 1999, p. 463.

36   E.g., Christides 1981, pp. 81–82 cites the movements of the residents of Karpathos and Voiai in southern Laconia. Mee and Forbes (1997, p. 90) propose that the Early Byzantine settlements hugged the west coast of the Methana peninsula, as on Euboea, to shield against marauders sailing from the south and east.

37   E.g., Wurster and Felten 1975, p. 65 (Aegina); Jameson et al. 1994, p. 404 (southern Argolid); Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 439, n. 76 (Berbati-Limnes pass).

38   Theoph. Cont. (*CSHB*) pp. 300.7–301.20; John Scyl. *Syn. hist.* pp. 153.74–154.9, ed. Thurn; John Zon. *Epit. hist.* (*CSHB*) III, pp. 429.13–430.14; George Cedren. *Syn. hist.* (*CSHB*) II, pp. 227.8–229.2; [Sphrantzes] *Chron. maj.* 1.25 (pp. 242.14–244.6). Savvides 1998, pp. 87–92 discusses the career and naval operations of Ooryphas.

this were rare events, particularly during Leo's tumultuous reign. Another form of Imperial response to the Arab threat, one that would have functioned on a continuous basis, was the beacon at Corinth for advanced warnings.

The Byzantine Watch-Tower on Acrocorinth

If indeed Leo VI built his fire-tower at Corinth around the turn of the 9th to the 10th century, which seems all but certain, it must have been located at an elevated, visible site that could be easily reached and defended. The best site with these properties is the summit of Acrocorinth. Indeed, an enormous Byzantine watch-tower was discovered here during excavations in the spring of 1926 by the American School of Classical Studies under the supervision of Carl W. Blegen. Bon proposed that the stone inscribed with the dedication of the beacon came from this building. The form and context of the tower are difficult to reconstruct, because it was excavated during an early era of archaeology when neither stratigraphy nor documentation were exact sciences. The only records of the structure and its associated remains are the brief field notes stored in the School's offices at the Corinth Museum and the photographs and plans published shortly after Blegen's excavation (Figs. 16.2–4). The top of the preserved courses of the tower's walls is still plainly visible in situ, though the whole area is overgrown (Fig. 16.5).[39]

The tower was situated on the highest point of the mountain (elevation 585 m.), over the rugged terrain of its northeastern summit. It was a rectangular structure measuring ca. 12.70 m. east-west by ca. 12.05 m. north-south. The walls, which were founded on bedrock, were composed of roughly-cut limestone blocks, irregular rubble, and *spolia*, all set unevenly in a coarse lime mortar. Although the walls were preserved to a maximum height of only 2.17 m., their immense thickness at the base of the tower (2.60–2.85 m.) indicates that the building was very tall. Inside the tower were two compartments. One of these was lined with hydraulic cement for use as a cistern; the other would have been a passage in which people could ascend the tower by means of ladders between wooden floors. The design of the tower's top level is lost, but it must have had a wide platform.

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39   Corinth Notebook 90a, pp. 9–159 (15 March–26 May 1926); *Corinth* III.1, pp. 3, 4, 5, 23, 24–25, figs. 1, 25, pls. I–III (Blegen); *Corinth* III.2, p. 256 (Bon). None of the relevant artifacts and original photographs can now be found. The author studied the notebook on 30 May 2000; a few questions were clarified through subsequent correspondence. I sincerely thank Guy Sanders, director of the Corinth Excavations, for his permission to study and publish this evidence, and Nancy Bookidis, assistant director *emerita*, for her kind and generous assistance at the Museum. I last examined the site of the tower on 16 March, 2007.

Fig. 16.2   View from the northeast of the Byzantine tower on Acrocorinth (center) and ruins of the Muslim tomb (left) and Venetian artillery platform (right) in March, 1926 (reprinted from *Corinth* III.1, p. 5, Figure 1, courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).
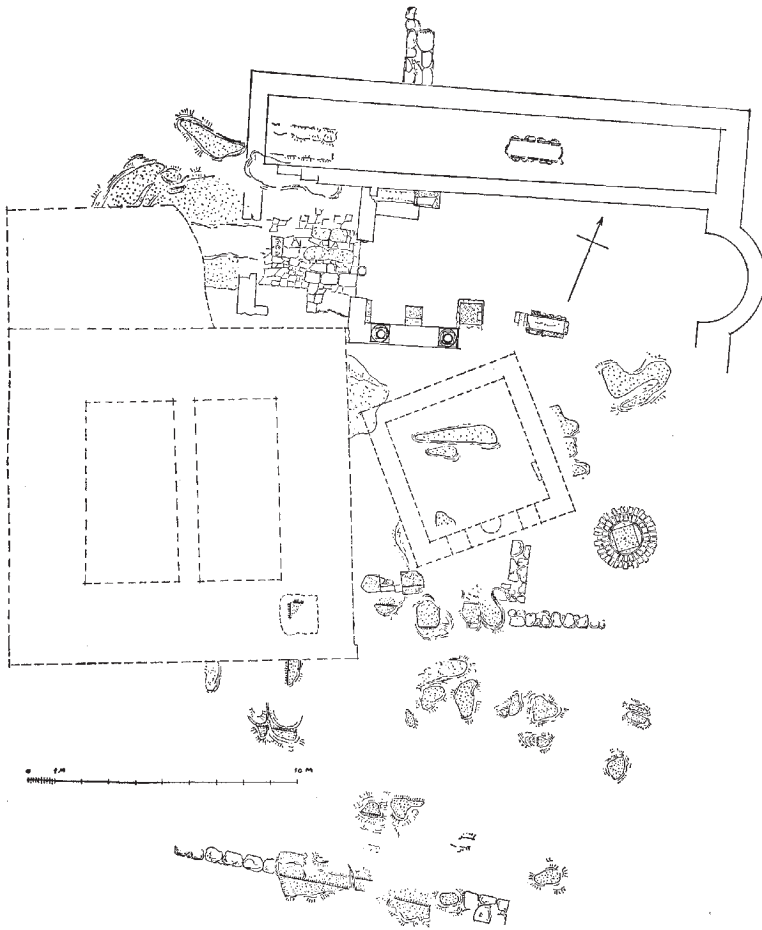
Fig. 16.3   Plan of ruins at summit of Acrocorinth, including outlines of Byzantine tower and Muslim tomb overlying early structures and the Christian basilica (reprinted from *Corinth* III.1, pl. III, courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).
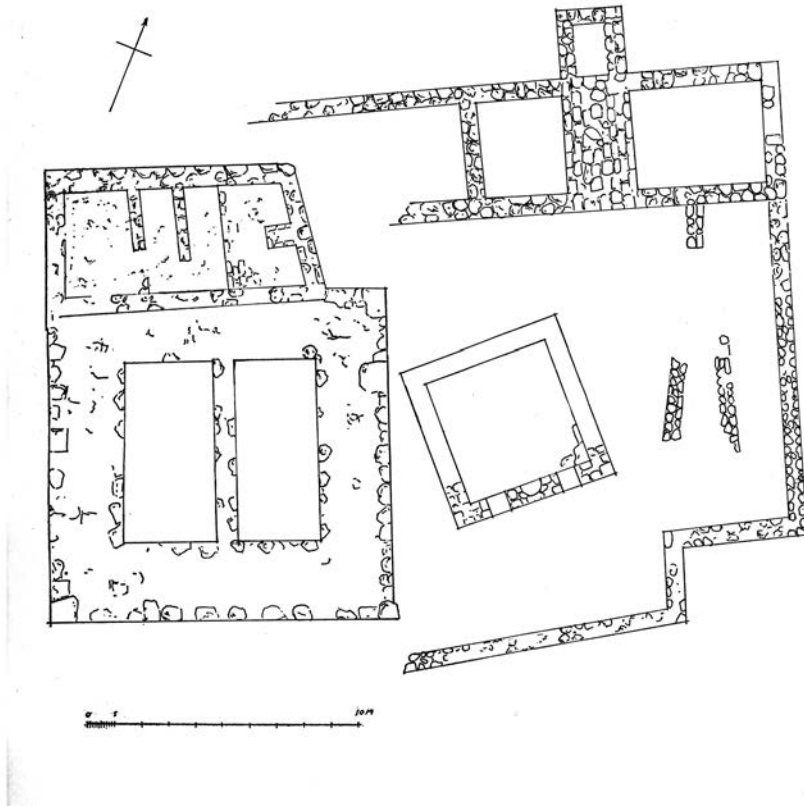
Fig. 16.4   Plan of ruins at summit of Acrocorinth, including the Byzantine tower, the Muslim tomb and its precinct, and the Venetian artillery platform (reprinted from Corinth III.1, pl. III, courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

Fig. 16.5   View from the northwest of the Byzantine tower on Acrocorinth and
the southern Corinthia beyond in March, 2007 (photo by author)

Unfortunately, there is no artifactual evidence from secure depositional contexts
for dating the tower at the summit. Excavators found five coins in ca. 1.5 m of fill
overlying bedrock inside the tower's two chambers.[40] The coins can no longer be
located for study, but those from the lowest horizon of fill were most likely Late
Roman bronze issues.[41] The chronological distribution of all numismatic finds from
the 1926 campaign on Acrocorinth reflects the fluctuation of activity in the area over

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40   Corinth Notebook 90a, pp. 77–82 (6–7 April 1926).

41   Orestes Zervos, numismatist for the Corinth Excavations, kindly informed the author
(pers. comm. 3 October 2001) that these coins were taken to Athens for storage and study
but were never returned, or were lost, when the Corinth Museum was built in the mid 1930s.
He identified Coin #1 ("Frankish coin," p. 81; in western chamber ca. 0.70 m below wall to
south) as mid 13th to early 14th century. He identified Coin #3 ("small, thick bronze coin,"
p. 81; in western chamber ca. 0.90 m below wall to west) as "probably Greek autonomous,
Opuntian Lokris or Corinth, pre-146 B.C." Another intriguing piece, which Zervos could not
identify usefully, was a "small, flat cylindrical amulet seal of light material, gray in color,
rudely carved on one side with St. George holding spear, on other side a double cross" (p. 81;
in western chamber at depth of ca. 0.90 m). The two small bronze coins (#4–#5, p. 81) were
found just above the bedrock. A bone pin with incised decoration, now lost, was found above
the bedrock outside the tower to its east (Corinth Notebook 90a, p. 82). It probably belonged
to a large class of Byzantine pins that is well represented at Corinth (*Corinth* XII, p. 280, pl.
120).

time. Late Roman and Early Byzantine coins occurred frequently up to the reign of Constans II (655–656), at which point they end. The sequence resumes with coins of Leo VI and John I (969–976) found in the fill east of the tower, after which point Frankish and Venetian issues were relatively common.[42] This distribution reflects a broader revival in the Corinthian monetary economy around the time of Leo VI.[43] More specifically, it hints at an upswing in activity at the citadel's summit in the late 9th or 10th century.

The sequence of building here suggests that the watch-tower was probably erected around this time (Figs. 16.2–4). Photographs and drawings from 1926 show that the foundations of the tower were set directly over the narthex and western nave of a Christian basilica. The tower must therefore postdate the church, which operated at least into the 7th century, and perhaps into the 8th.[44] The Muslim tomb of Gazi Ibrahim Baba and its surrounding precinct wall (often misidentified as a mosque) were erected around the eastern foundations of the tower, and at a much higher elevation in the fill. The tower must therefore predate the tomb, which was constructed at some point during the mid 15th to late 17th centuries (1458–1687).[45] The Venetians later built a platform for guns against the north face of the tower. Several Venetian illustrations of Acrocorinth show a prominent tower on the northeastern summit, presumably the Byzantine watch-tower, which would have required rehabilitation several centuries after its construction.[46] On the basis of building chronology alone, the tower must have been erected between the 7th or 8th and the mid 15th to late 17th centuries, though depositional relationships suggest that the tower was closer in date to the basilica than to the tomb. Bon recognized that the masonry of the tower resembled that used in the construction technique of other parts of the mountain's fortifications, such as the third (interior) gate, the northern circuit, and the great cistern.[47] These areas together represent a major building phase that falls between the Justinianic and Frankish projects on Acrocorinth. Bon dated this phase to the 9th to 10th centuries, and identified it tentatively with Leo VI; later studies of the fortifications have accepted this chronology.[48]

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42 Corinth Notebook 90a, pp. 29 (IC 26–317: John I), 61–68 (catalogue), 120 (IC 26–288: Leo VI); *Corinth* III.1, p. 66 (A. R. Bellinger).

43 See n. 57.

44 For the remains of the church, see *Corinth* III.1, pp. 3, 4, 5, 21–4, figs. 1, 2, 23, 25–26, pl. II; on the form and date of the church, see *RBK* IV, 1990, coll. 791–793, fig. 15, s.v. Korinth (D. I. Pallas). A buckle from one of the graves in the church (*Corinth* XII, p. 271, no. 2188, pl. 114) dates to at least the 7th century (cf. Sanders 2003, p. 395). The tower certainly cannot be dated as early as "the period of Justinian or his predecessors," as Andrews 1953, p. 140, asserts.

45 For the remains of the "mosque," see *Corinth* III.1, pp. 3, 5, 25, fig. 1, pl. III. MacKay 1968, pp. 391, 392, 395, fig. 1 identifies the structure as a tomb and as a "place to visit" (*ziyaretgâh*), from the Turkish account of Evliya Çelebi (1668). The tower certainly cannot be dated as late as the early 13th century, as *Corinth* III.1, p. 25 asserts.

46 *Corinth* III.2, pp. 151–153, 154–156, figs. 95, 98, 99.

47 *Corinth* III.2, pp. 201–202, 256, 259.

48 *Corinth* III.2, pp. 131–133; cf. Andrews 1953, p. 140 (but see n. 44), Peppas 1993, p. 145, Koumoussi 2001, pp. 11, 20. 24, 30, 34.

This tower, which was apparently erected around the 9th to 10th centuries, must have served as a lookout. The interior was too narrow to provide adequate space for either habitation or refuge. It was too far from the rampart to provide defensive support, and it would not have housed heavy artillery in the age before cannonry. The greatest benefit of a tower reaching perhaps 15–25 m in height at the summit of Acrocorinth would have been the spectacular view encompassing the entire Corinthian Plain, the Isthmus, both gulfs, and great distances over sea and land in all directions. Any watch-tower like this must have communicated over long distances with other stations, whether in the urban settlement below to the north, in communities on the surrounding plains and coasts, or at fortified sites in nearby mountains. The Byzantine tower on Acrocorinth shares its basic form and placement with definite or possible beacons in Asia Minor and Greece. At Argos in Lycaonia (modern Al-Aḥrab), the second station in the famous Anatolian telegraph, a pentagonal tower with thick walls, a broad base, and a narrow interior was located in the southwest corner of the fortress atop a high plateau.[49] Several elevated sites between Thermopylae and Amphissa have been identified as possible links in a Late Roman to Byzantine telegraph, including a massive rectangular tower at Kastro Orias that in scale and construction that resembles the watch-tower on Acrocorinth in scale and construction.[50]

To summarize: the massive building found at the summit of Acrocorinth in 1926 should be identified as a watch-tower erected around the 9th to 10th centuries. As has been established, the inscription collected by the Nani recorded that Leo VI built the fire-tower at Corinth to warn of Arab attacks. Thus, since the most obvious site for such a building in the region is Acrocorinth, it is reasonable to propose that the Byzantine watch-tower and Leo's fire-tower are one and the same. Again it should be stressed that there is no direct evidence that the inscribed stone naming Leo's beacon came from the watch-tower on Acrocorinth. But this provenance seems most likely from a compelling convergence of historical and archaeological sources., this provenance seems most likely. If so, we might envision that the inscription reached northeastern Italy as follows. When the Venetians occupied the mountain after 1687, they found the buildings in a ruinous state. They repaired and enlarged the fortifications in several places, most prominently at the western entrance, but also at the summit, where they established an artillery emplacement and perhaps occupied a decrepit watch-tower, calling this commanding locale "posto San Michiel(e)."[51] A sizable inscribed block, that had either fallen from the tower or been dislodged

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49   Hild and Restle 1981, pp. 135–137, fig. 9. No remains for a fire-tower are visible on the fortified heights at Lulon, the first station in the same telegraph (Hild and Restle 1981, p. 223). Clive Foss has plausibly argued (1985, pp. 86–94) that a beacon was located in the Byzantine fortress on Kayser Kale near Kütahya (Byzantine Kotyaion), but no remains for a massive tower are visible there.

50   Cherf 1991, pp. 141–143; on the tower Kastro Orias, see Cherf 1991, p. 142 and Wallace 1991, p. 49, fig. 4–5, pl. 4–10.

51   On the Venetian phase of the fortifications, see *Corinth* III.2, pp. 149–155, 160–265 *passim* and Andrews 1953, pp. 137–138, 143–145. For the designation "posto San Michiel(e)," see the Venetian drawings reproduced at *Corinth* III.2, pp. 155–156, n. 1, fig. 99 ("H"), and Andrews 1953, pls. 31–32. Visitors to the site shortly before the Venetian occupation (E.

during its refurbishment, would have caught the attention of any curious viewer, particularly an Italian officer stationed there, or a visitor with antiquarian tastes. Before the great citadel was lost to the Turks in the summer of 1715, an interested party could easily have shipped the stone to Corfu, which is where the Nani (or their agents) probably collected it about a half century later.

An Optical Telegraph in the Northeastern Peloponnese

The presence of the fire-tower erected by Leo VI at Corinth and the Byzantine watch-tower at the summit of Acrocorinth illuminates our understanding not only of a shadowy transitional period in regional history, but also of the long-term evolution of defensive strategy in southern Greece. This understanding gains clarity if indeed the epigraphically attested fire-tower and the archaeologically attested watch-tower were the same building. If they were two different structures, each tower alone furnishes important evidence for historical change in the northeastern Peloponnese.

Before addressing the significance of the tower(s), it will be useful to consider exactly how a fire-tower at Corinth and a watch-tower on Acrocorinth might have operated. During the 9th and 10th centuries, long before the onset of thick atmospheric pollution in the 20th century, a viewer on the mountain's summit in clear weather could have seen some 70–80 km. This vista would have stretched from the Krisaian Gulf in the west, to Aegina, Salamis, and Athens in the east, and deep into the highlands of Arcadia and the Argolid. Anyone posted there could easily have spied Arab ships approaching the islets and shores of the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs, especially if aided by a telescopic device. Once hostile vessels were observed at sea, the lookout on Acrocorinth could have relayed a message by smoke or fire as much as a couple of hours in advance of the landfall of the vessels, depending on the ships' distance from shore and their speed of travel.

A signal of impending danger would have been sent below to Corinth, and over land to smaller communities on the adjacent coasts and the Isthmus, such as the emerging village at the Isthmian Fortress, and to small but vital port establishments, such as the one at Kenchreai.[52] Such a signal would have served the dual purpose of warning residents to hide or flee and of summoning soldiers to aid in defense. As has been discussed, Arab activity during this time in the Aegean did not involve the conquest of expansive territory, but rather the periodic raiding of settlements on or near coasts. Leo might well have been particularly concerned about a direct threat to Corinth, which could easily be reached from the sea to its west or east. Other Greek cities did fall victim to the Arabs—Demetrias (902) and Thessalonica (904)—but whether these disasters preceded or succeeded the erection of the fire-tower is impossible to know. The devastation of Corinth would have undermined the provincial administration, disrupted commercial activity, and provoked despair over a failing State. Perhaps the watch-tower on Acrocorinth was a singular beacon

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Çelebi, 1668; G. Wheler and J. Spon, 1676) do not mention the tower (MacKay 1968, p. 391; Wheler 1682, p. 442). This silence would make sense if the building was dilapidated.

52   Earlier Corinthians had employed long-distance signaling to warn of attacks from the Saronic Gulf during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 4.24.4).

that warned all residents within view that the Arabs were coming. Or perhaps it was the hub in a system of fire-signals that warned settlements either directly on the sea or a short distance inland, but still on the coastal plain. Lookouts or beacons might have existed, for instance, on Oneion and Geraneia, or on lower heights, which could then relay messages to coastal communities out of view of Acrocorinth because of distance or obstruction. Such networks of communication are known to have operated over vast intervals in the Arab world during this time. Contemporary writers describe the use of towers for signaling along the Maghrebian coast between Ceuta and Alexandria in the 9th century, and along the Levantine coast between Cairo and Damascus during the 10th century.[53]

Another possibility is that the tower on Acrocorinth sent signals to stations further inland, particularly southward into the Corinthia and the Argolid, where there were several sizable settlements with large populations. In this case, there might have existed a line of beacons not unlike those in Anatolia and central Greece. If Leo was concerned to prevent the capture of Corinth, the purpose of such a system would have been to summon forces from the interior to support the city's defense. If Leo was concerned to defend the northeastern Peloponnese against the kind of massive invasion that threatened Asia Minor, the purpose of such a system would have been to warn inland cities of the hostile progress of "bands of barbarians." Of course, these two purposes are not exclusive. Although no other fire-towers have been positively identified in the Corinthia and Argolid, there are several fortified sites of Byzantine date, located throughout the mountainous zone between Acrocorinth and the Argolic Gulf, that might have furnished beacons. Ioannes Peppas has catalogued these in a pair of overlooked but useful topographical studies. He records that several highpoints between Acrocorinth, Arcadia, the Larissa above Argos, and the Thyreatis were intervisible (cf. Fig. 16.5).[54] Although most of the sites with surviving structures can be dated only generally to the Middle Ages, it seems quite plausible that they belonged to a signaling network that forewarned residents of Arab activity and called for immediate response.

The existence of this system of long-distance communication, whether it involved chiefly coastal or inland communities, reflects a general trend of recovery during the 9th to 10th centuries in the northeastern Peloponnese. The Avar and Slavic incursions into southern Greece during the late 6th to early 7th centuries had ushered in new

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53   Dvornik 1974, pp. 219, 232–233, citing the geographical writings of Abul-mahasin (North Africa) and Al-Muqaddasī (Near East). Scholars have sometimes interpreted isolated towers with a seaward orientation or a coastal setting elsewhere in the Greek world as lookouts that sent signals to neighboring residents, such as Hellenistic towers on the Aegean islands (Ormerod [1924] 1997, pp. 41–50) and Venetian towers on Euboea (Koder 1973, pp. 95–98; Koder and Hild 1976, pp. 112–113). Lock 1996 rightly stresses the agrarian function of the Eubeoan towers, as he has demonstrated for their Boeotian counterparts (Lock 1986), but this does not rule out their use for sending warnings.

54   Peppas 1990, pp. 58, 180–181, 192–194, 209–210, 215–216, 234; 1993, pp. 142, 145. He notes sightlines between Acrocorinth and Kastraki, Evangelistrias Stimangas, Kataphygi, Valtesinikos and Pharmaka (into Arcadia); between Acrocorinth and Agionori, Argos and Nafplio; and between Acrocorinth and Xylopyrgos (into the Thyreatis).

living conditions across the region.[55] Towns and villages dispersed or moved, while cities diminished in size; trade and bartering largely replaced monetary exchange; the erection of monumental art and architecture ceased; and much production occurred on a local scale. To be sure, ecclesiastical relations continued, and Corinth remained under Byzantine control and in direct contact with Constantinople. But material culture indicates that Corinth reached a nadir of prosperity and power during the Early Byzantine period.

It is unclear by what internal and external mechanisms Corinth and surrounding communities began their gradual recovery from having been a diminished and localized state.[56] But settlements in the region have produced archaeological evidence for a revival around the 9th to 10th centuries. At both Isthmia and Kenchreai, the numismatic series resumes under Leo VI after a long hiatus.[57] The fortifications at the Isthmus were well enough populated (or at least sufficiently renowned) to appear for the first time with the designation Hexamilion on the Arabic mappa mundi of the mid 10th century by ibn Ḥawqal (Abū al-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī al-Nasīb; vol. I, p. 189 eds. Kramers and Wiet).[58] At Corinth, in addition to the sharp increase in coin frequency beginning with Leo VI, glazed chafing dishes appear in the 9th century, and white ware imports from Constantinople in the second half of the 10th century.[59] Lead seals demonstrate that the commerciary was operating successfully during the late 8th and 9th centuries.[60] These developments point to growing monetarization, production, and commerce, all indices of economic health. Sparse archaeological and historical evidence hints at a similar trend of survival, and indeed expansion, at smaller inland sites. Topographical study and surface survey in the *kleisoura* to the Argolid, between Psili Rachi, Kernikelo, and Trapezona have located several sites that survived into the Early Byzantine period, if not later. The site of Agionori ("Enorion") along this route was well established before the visit of St. Nicon in ca.

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55   Yannopoulos 1980 is a very dated study of the Slavic invasion; on rural and urban living conditions thereafter, see Gregory 1993 and Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 273–280, 289–294. The related questions of foreign incursion and settlement in the Peloponnese and of early Byzantine society and economy in city and countryside are in dire need of fresh study.

56   In this regard, the famous restoration of Patras from the Slavs in ca. 805 was probably more emblematic than causative (Const. Porphyr. *Imp. adm.* 49; *Chron. Monem.* p. 20.177–181 ed. Dujčev).

57   Coins of Leo VI and Constantine VII (945–ca. 950) have been found in the central area and around the Fortress at the Isthmus; *Kenchreai* III, pp. 4–5, 75 records similar findings around the harbor.

58   Kordosis 1985–1986.

59   Sanders 2003, pp. 387–390, tab. 23.1, fig. 23.1 (coins), pp. 390–394, figs. 23.3–5 (pottery).

60   Schlumberger 1884, p. 182, no. 1 (late 8th century; cf. Zacos and Veglery 1972, pp. 971–972 for type); *Corinth* XII, no. 2711 (early 9th century); Zacos and Veglery 1972, no. 2528 (ca. 750–850); *Corinth* XII, nos. 2698 (9th century), 2711 (9th century). The *kommerkiarios* was a fiscal and commercial officer of the state who was responsible primarily for assessing and administering taxation in kind and redistributing products in conjunction with the "warehouse" (ἀποθήκη); see in general Dunn 1993. I thank Archibald Dunn for discussing the Corinthian sigillographic corpus.

970, whose hagiographer called the place "a dwelling of farmers and countryfolk" (ἀνδρῶν γηπόνων καὶ ἀγροικῶν ἐνδιαίτημα, *V. s. Nic*. 29.4–5).[61] The history of Byzantine Argos is cloudy, but we do know of an active episcopate in the 9th century and later, and the imposing fortress on the Larissa seems to have been occupied, and perhaps reconstructed, during this era.[62] The implementation of an optical telegraph by Leo VI is another sign of regional recovery. Imperial involvement in Corinthian defense reflects the area's strategic importance, inasmuch as the administration, commerce, and population centered at Corinth merited protection. Moreover, the Corinthia had regained such a level of internal stability that the emperor could depend on local forces to maintain a system of long-distance communication.

In many respects, the evolving character of Corinthian fortifications from the Late Roman to the Middle Byzantine periods mirrors these wider historical changes in the northeastern Peloponnese. During Late Antiquity, apparently from the early 5th century, two basic strategies of fortification were used in the region: the curtain wall across the Isthmus and a circuit wall around the city and citadel of Corinth. Both were erected (and rehabilitated) by local manpower under Imperial sponsorship.[63] This plan of *diateichisma* and *kastro* protected southern Greece against large invasion at the first level, and its premier urban center against local devastation at the second. The employment of such a system was possible because a central authority could lend expertise and resources for construction and maintenance; because defensive efforts across a large area were facilitated through ease of travel and communication; and because the region was valued both as a collection of important cities and as a dense concentration of residents. These conditions pertained to the northeastern Peloponnese between the reigns of Theodosius II and Justinian. After the Avar and Slavic invasions and the ensuing transformation of urban and rural life, a regional defensive strategy was no longer feasible: many residents fled or resettled in remote locales, cities grew constricted, and production and exchange became more localized. Corinth and Constantinople remained linked out of political and commercial need, but there is no sign of Imperial investment in the civic landscape, let alone a regional defensive plan, during the middle to late 7th and 8th centuries. Consequently, the trans-Isthmian wall and the Corinthian circuit began a slow decay.

A new phase of Corinthian fortification commenced with the general recovery and growth of the region in the 9th and 10th centuries. Many residents probably still relied on self-defense or flight in the face of Arab raids, as they had in response to the Avar and Slavic invaders. However, for many people in and around Corinth, the erection of the fire-tower by Leo VI, together with other building activities on Acrocorinth, expressed Imperial interest in the protection of the capital through

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61   On sites in the *kleisoura*, see Wiseman 1978, pp. 124–125, figs. 182–187 and Kourinou-Pikoulas, Pikoulas and Faklaris 1987–1988, pp. 228, 230, 231, pl. 22:c–d. On Byzantine Enorion, see Kordosis 1981, pp. 156–158, and 1987–1988, pp. 265–267, 268, n. 16.

62   *Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 3.743 ed. Darrouzés, Cont. Porphyr. *Them*. 2.5.4–6 (episcopate); Andrews 1953, pp. 106–115 (Larissa).

63   *Isthmia* V (curtain wall); Gregory 1979, with revision suggested (but not substantiated) at Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 293 (circuit wall).

large-scale construction. Moreover, the establishment of an optical telegraph served to integrate previously dispersed settlements, not only through rapid communication, but also behind a common concern for regional security. Members of coastal and inland communities were bound to one another through the sharing of military intelligence. Beyond the system's practical advantages, it must have promoted a mentality of participation in the safety and success of the region, a knowledge that neighbors could help one another by sending messages or even armed assistance. The erection of lookouts and beacons, powerful visual symbols, would have brought a measure of comfort, perhaps even confidence, to the people who lived there. It was not long before the great curtain wall over the Isthmus, now called the Hexamilion, was again used to protect the Peloponnese, this time against the Bulgarians.[64] Already, several decades before, the emperor's system of signaling had created a new interconnectedness in defensive strategy and popular perception within a region gradually reborn.

Acknowledgments

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64 Tsar Samuel invaded Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Boeotia, and Attica, and then crossed the Isthmus and ravaged the Peloponnese, probably in ca. 996 (*V. s. Nic.* 40.8–10; John Scyl. p. 341.29–30 ed. Thurn; John Zon. *Epit. hist.* (*CSHB*) III, pp. 558.12–559.10; George Cedren. *Syn. hist.* (*CSHB*) II, pp. 449.21–450.2). The *vita* of St. Nicon recorded that during this time Basil Apokaukos, praetor and *stratêgos* at Corinth, "was fortifying the Isthmus there on account of the Bulgarian invasion" (ἐφρούρει τὸν ἐκεῖσε ἰσθμὸν τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς ἕνεκα ἐφόδου, 40.2–5).

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Cemeteries in the Countryside: An Archaeological Investigation of the Modern Mortuary Landscape in the Eastern Corinthia and Northern Kythera

Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory

Abstract

The archaeology of historic period cemeteries, including those of the last few centuries, has been an area of research undertaken by many scholars during the latter part of the 20th century, particularly in Britain and North America. In Greece, Modern period cemetery studies have been few in number, and limited to anthropological investigations or folkloric descriptions. The present paper provides an attempt at an archaeological study of cemeteries, and of their development over the last couple of centuries, in two distinct regions of Greece: the eastern Corinthia and northern Kythera. The monuments constructed in these cemeteries provide a unique look into how Greeks of the 19th and 20th centuries viewed issues of commemoration, group identity, and national identification. The ways in which the monuments have been preserved over time also provides important information about the ways in which individuals are remembered, and the length of time that this memory endures.

Introduction

In 1997, the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP), made a preliminary attempt to record the local cemetery and graves of the village of Mitsero, where the survey project was based, in the foothills of the southwest Troodos Mountains in Cyprus. This study of the cemetery formed part of the Modern component (Historical Archaeology) of the wider survey, for which Kylie Seretis and I were responsible throughout the duration of the project.[1] Historical Archaeology, or Modern Period Archaeology—a term preferable in a Mediterranean context—was practically non-existent in Cyprus before then. In those early days, however, such studies were restricted to non-systematic recordings of mainly targeted features on the landscape

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1   Seretis and Diacopoulos 2003.

from the last two centuries, and to the collection of oral information related to these features, as part of the diachronic agenda of a regional survey.[2] Thus, alongside the main attributes of the village of Mitsero (the church, houses, coffee houses, shops, and roads) as well as those associated with its agricultural and copper-mining activities (agricultural fields, threshing floors, mines, and mining accommodation and buildings), the village cemetery was recognized as an important cultural feature worthy of investigation. At the very least, given the limits of our particular project at the time, the cemetery was measured, drawn, and described in a very general way. It was not until a few years later, during my involvement with two other survey projects in Greece, that the study of Modern cemeteries assumed a more central role with a research agenda of its own, in the investigation of the diachronic mortuary landscape of the regions under study.[3]

Instrumental in supporting and facilitating this important development, as well as actively participating in the implementation of its method in the field, Timothy Gregory made a significant contribution to the field of Modern period cemetery studies in Greece. This paper is a tribute to his endless enthusiasm and continuous support in demonstrating the archaeological relevance of Modern cemeteries, as part of a diachronic continuum from Antiquity and the Middle Ages to the more recent past and up to the present. It is also a tribute to his personal involvement in a study that goes far beyond the ephemeral and contemporary, into the realm of human memory, commemoration, and identity.

Traditionally, these inter-related concepts have been broadly explored in disciplines such as history, anthropology, sociology, and psychology. It is only in recent years that social archaeologists have engaged in similar discussions on social memory, commemoration, and identity, drawing on much of the theory developed by social theorists and historians. Specifically with regard to cemetery studies, archaeologists in recent years have focused especially on mortuary landscape analysis, exploring concepts of space and of place of death, commemoration (as a need on the part of the living to maintain an association with the deceased through memory), and patterns of social identity, including local, regional, and national identity, expressed through the mortuary evidence.[4] The approaches adopted in my own archaeological study of Greek cemeteries, although unique in the context of Modern Greece, are comparable to the work of social archaeologists like Silverman and Small, Tarlow, Mytum, Rakita, and others, who provide a holistic framework for the analysis of mortuary data, by combining the spatiality of death practice with its social dimensions.[5]

More specifically, my paper is an attempt to examine the mortuary landscape of Greece from the formation of the Modern Greek state in 1830 until the present, in terms of commemoration and identity. My research adopts a case study-approach,

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2   Diacopoulos and Seretis 2003.
3   Diacopoulos 2004.
4   See, for example, the pioneering work of McGuire 1988; Cannon 1989, 2005; and Parker-Pearson 1982, 1999, 2001.
5   Silverman 2002; Tarlow 1997, 1999, 2000, 2004; Mytum 2004; Silverman and Small 2002.

focusing on the cemeteries from two geographically and historically distinct rural regions in Greece: the eastern Corinthia, on the mainland of the Peloponnese, and the northern part of the island of Kythera[6] (Fig. 17.1).
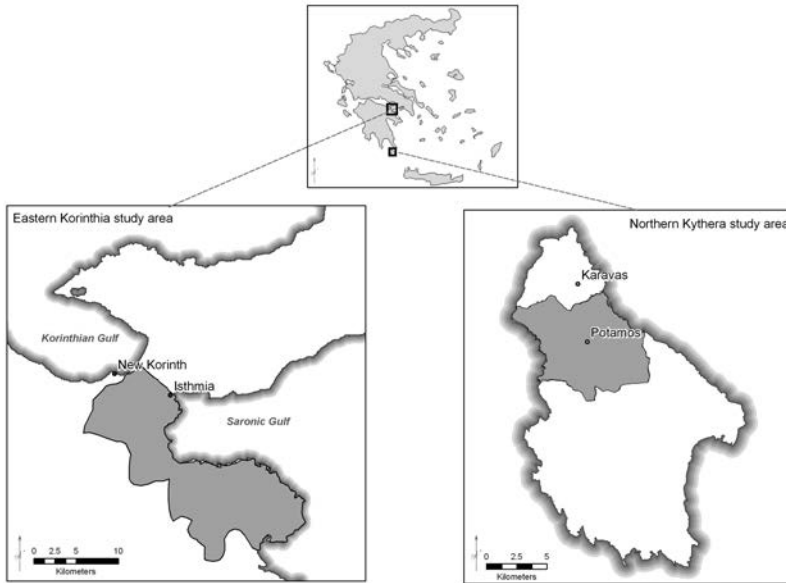
Fig. 17.1   Map of Greece showing the two study regions of the eastern Corinthia and northern Kythera (Maps provided by Richard MacNeill).

By combining archaeological evidence with historical and archival sources with oral information, and aided by quantitative study, including statistics and spatial analyses (GIS), I argue that Greek identity, as reflected by the cemetery evidence, is a complex interplay of distinctly Greek traits at the local, regional, and national levels, influenced to some degree by western trends and ideals, especially in relation to cemetery location and monument construction. Family and home are the two main themes constantly reinforced in the cemetery, alongside a predominantly conformist ethos in the displays of commemoration, exemplified through the monuments, inscriptions, grave dedications, and offerings. This lack of individualism, and a strong adherence to homogeneity and conformity to standardized patterns and designs,

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6   Both of these regions have been the subjects of investigations by two separate large-scale diachronic archaeological survey projects: the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (EKAS), and the Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey (APKAS). See Coroneos et al. 2002; Tartaron et al. forthcoming. The current research is undertaken as part of both these ongoing projects, which operate with permits from the Hellenic Ministry of Culture. With specific reference to the cemeteries, additional permission to undertake this research was granted by the Municipality of Kythera (*Δήμος Κυθήρων*) and the Prefecture of Corinth (*Νομαρχία Κορινθίας*).

along with the ephemeral nature of commemoration (often lasting little beyond a single generation), are definite Hellenic characteristics reflecting attitudes and behavior within Modern Greek society at large, beyond the cemetery boundaries.

The Mortuary Landscape of Rural Greece

Cemeteries are a common feature of the Greek countryside. Almost every village community has its own cemetery in a prominent location (usually on top of a hill) at the outskirts of the Modern village.[7] The area covered by these cemeteries varies according to the size of the corresponding village. Almost all cemeteries are surrounded by a walled fence, separating them from the surrounding area; and most have a church, usually situated in the center of the cemetery grounds. Many cemeteries, depending on local burial practice,s and as a response to overcrowding, also contain ossuaries, or bone containers, where the bones of individuals are deposited after their removal from the grave in order to make room for another individual.[8] Generally, Greek cemeteries appear to be remarkably uniform with regard to the following:

a) their prominent location on the landscape, usually on a hill at the outskirts of the village;
b) the orientation of graves in a more or less east-west orientation, with head toward the west;
c) the presence of rows of cypress trees;
d) the presence of above-ground grave monuments usually fashioned in white marble and decorated with upright marble crosses (often with artificial flower wreaths);
e) inscriptions, either on the crosses or the monument itself;
f) the presence of standard religious artifacts, such as oil lamps, incense burners, and icons, as well as potted plants and photographs of the deceased.

Until 2000, almost all rural cemeteries in Greece were under the jurisdiction of the local parish, administered by the local church committee, including the priest, while a smaller number of them were administered by the village administration (*κοινότητα*). Parish members automatically had access to burial in the cemetery free of charge.

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7   Legislation passed by royal decree in 1834 (with several amendments and new additions in subsequent years), provides specific guidelines as to the location of cemeteries, their administration, and burial procedures. Prior to this legislation, and following on from medieval practice, cemeteries were found inside the yard of the main village church, usually located in the center of the village. According to the 1834 legislation, new cemeteries were to be established away from the center of settlements, and at their outskirts, at least 100m from the edge of the settlement, on high ground, with preferably a northern or eastern aspect, and avoiding predominant winds. See *Ephimeris tis Kyverniseos tou Vasileiou tis Ellados* No.16, 1834; Raptarchis n.d.; Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2007b.

8   See Megas 1939; Kenna 1976, 1991; Danforth 1982; Bennett 1994.

In 2000, with the introduction of the Kapodistrias Plan of regional administration, the village councils were dissolved, and villages are theoretically now part of the regional administration (δήμος).[9] Cemeteries are thus now under the jurisdiction of the *demos*, which is also responsible for their management and upkeep. Residents are also required to pay for land to be buried in, unless they already have access to an existing family plot.

Field Methods and Techniques

Defining the mortuary landscape of rural Greece in the last two centuries involved a two-stage process: firstly, its spatial and temporal attributes needed to be established (where in the landscape these cemeteries are located and how old they are); and secondly, a method for the collection of appropriate above-surface mortuary data, in conjunction with relevant historical, archival and oral sources, had to be devised, in order to address both the nature of commemoration, and the way this is related to Greek identity as observed within the cemetery boundaries.

A regional case-study was the approach chosen as the appropriate scale of investigation for this research. Although hardly adequate or exhaustive in representing the whole of Greece, the two regions of eastern Corinthia and northern Kythera allow the comparison of results between, in the case of the former, a typically mainland agricultural and commercial region, and, in the case of the latter, a more peripheral and relatively isolated island region. Both regions vary considerably in area and in size of population.[10] Four full-scale field seasons conducted between 2001 and 2004 resulted in the recording of a total of 22 cemeteries and 2,295 graves in the two regions (Fig. 17.2).

The physical recording of the cemeteries and individual graves involved photography (print, slide, and digital), mapping of the cemetery grounds and of the position of graves, and the recording of each one of the burials in the cemetery, along with selected features from the monuments and inscriptions.[11] All data collected were entered in an electronic database which is also related to a GIS (Geographical Information Systems), containing digitized spatial information, including the location of the cemetery, and of each grave within it.

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9   Karanastasi 1998, pp.154–175.

10   The region under investigation in northern Kythera covers an area of approximately 65 km². Thirteen cemeteries and a total of 704 graves were identified within the region. The area of the eastern Corinthia is approximately 200 km², within which nine functioning cemeteries were identified, with a total of 1,591 graves. The settlement system of the Corinthia is more nucleated; that of Kythera, in contrast, more dispersed.

11   Assistance with the recording of the graves was kindly provided by a number of APKAS and EKAS volunteers over a period of four years. Mapping of the cemeteries and graves was done by Timothy Gregory. All GIS analyses were undertaken by Richard Macneill (GIS-Data co-ordinator, Australian Bush Heritage Fund). A detailed description of the field methods and grave typologies used in this study, along with the raw data collected, can be found in my Ph.D. dissertation at the Department of Archaeology, La Trobe University: Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2007b.
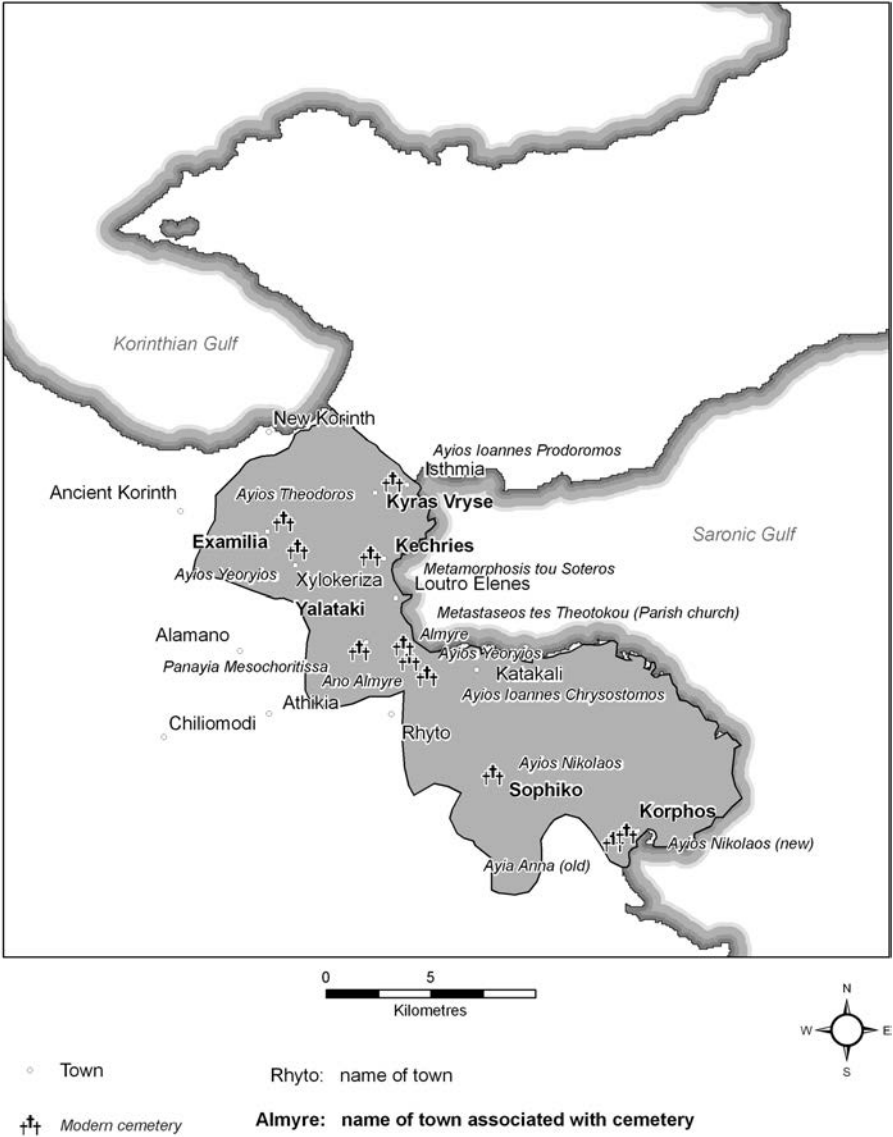
Fig. 17.2a   Cemeteries and villages in Kythera and the Corinthia (Maps provided
              by Richard MacNeill)
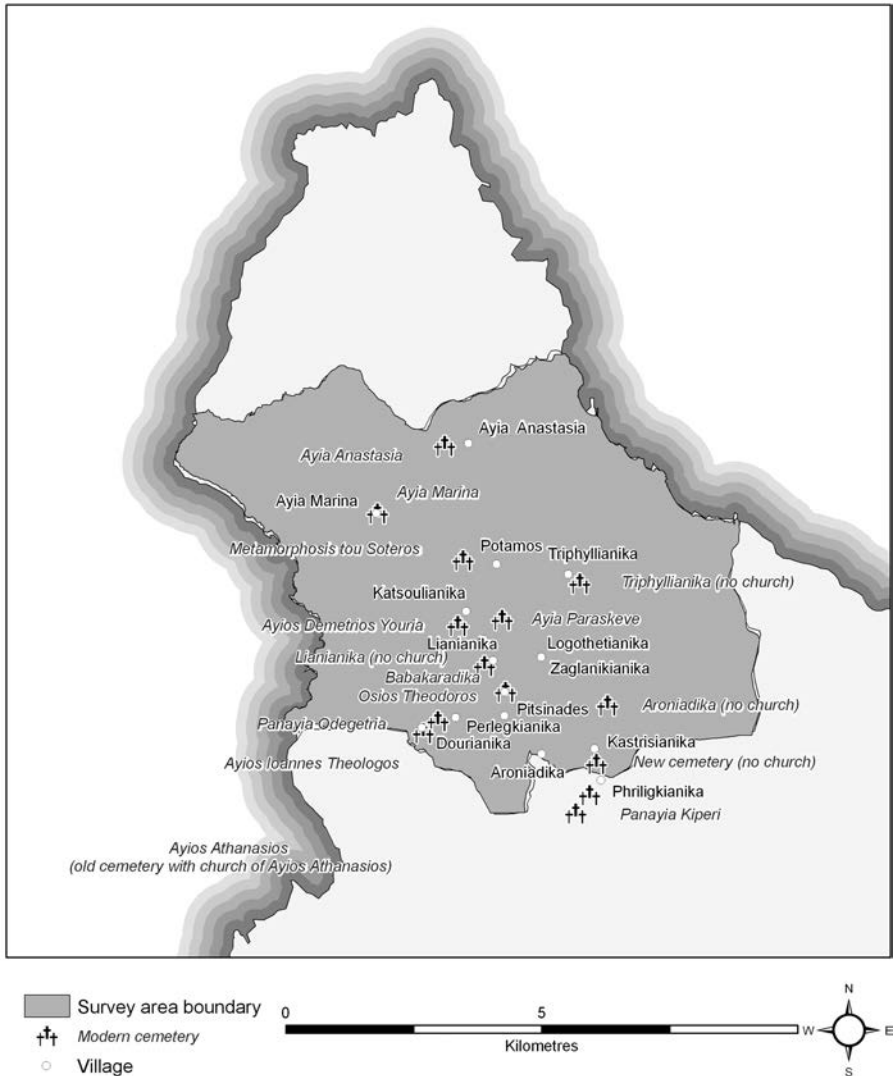
Fig. 17.2b   Cemeteries and villages in Kythera and the Corinthia (Maps provided by Richard MacNeill)

Almost all graves in Greek cemeteries are family plots, each plot measuring approximately either 1 x 2 m (single plot), or 2 x 2 m (double plot). Four general categories of grave types were identified during fieldwork, namely: a) traditional above-ground rectangular monuments made of marble or concrete, the most common form averaging between 50 cm to 1 m in height; b) ground burials, usually simple dirt burials, sometimes with a brick, stone, or concrete border and a slab placed on the surface of the ground; c) mausolea, fairly uncommon, fancy, expensive large house-like structures; and d) unusual, individually designed, memorial-style monuments (Fig. 17.3).

Although, according to Christian practice, orientation should theoretically be on a strictly east-west axis, graves frequently depart considerably from this norm, and for this reason a compass bearing was recorded for each individual grave.

Fig. 17.4 shows the spatial arrangement and orientation of graves in the Potamos cemetery in Kythera and in the Sophiko cemetery in the Corinthia, each being the largest cemetery in each region. The orientation of graves varies considerably, and this is much more noticeable in Potamos than in Sophiko. In fact, the Corinthia cemeteries in general follow a more consistent east-west orientation in the arrangement of their graves, while in Kythera there is a tendency for a more "chaotic" arrangement, observed in all the cemeteries in the sample. According to oral testimony obtained from local informants in Kythera (including a grave digger), the cemetery's geology determines the final orientation of the grave (if the earth is too rocky and difficult for the grave digger to excavate through, the grave will be dug in the easiest possible way). Also, a new grave will usually be set according to the orientation of the grave closest to it, and this explains why one often sees a row of graves following a particular pattern of orientation that differs from another one nearby. In other instances, pre-existing buildings and structures within the cemetery, including the church and fence, can determine the position of a grave.

The grave monuments and associated features, such as crosses, slabs, *kandeli* cases,[12] sculptures, and grave goods, along with epitaphs and other inscriptional information, were also recorded (Fig. 17.5).

The epigraphic information collected includes, as well as epitaphs, the family name, the number of individuals commemorated, and their age, sex, and date of death.

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12   Built or metal structures (usually marble with a glass door) containing the oil lantern (*kandeli)* which according to Greek practice should burn constantly, as well as its accessories, incense burners, and other offerings to the dead.

Fig. 17.3 Types of graves
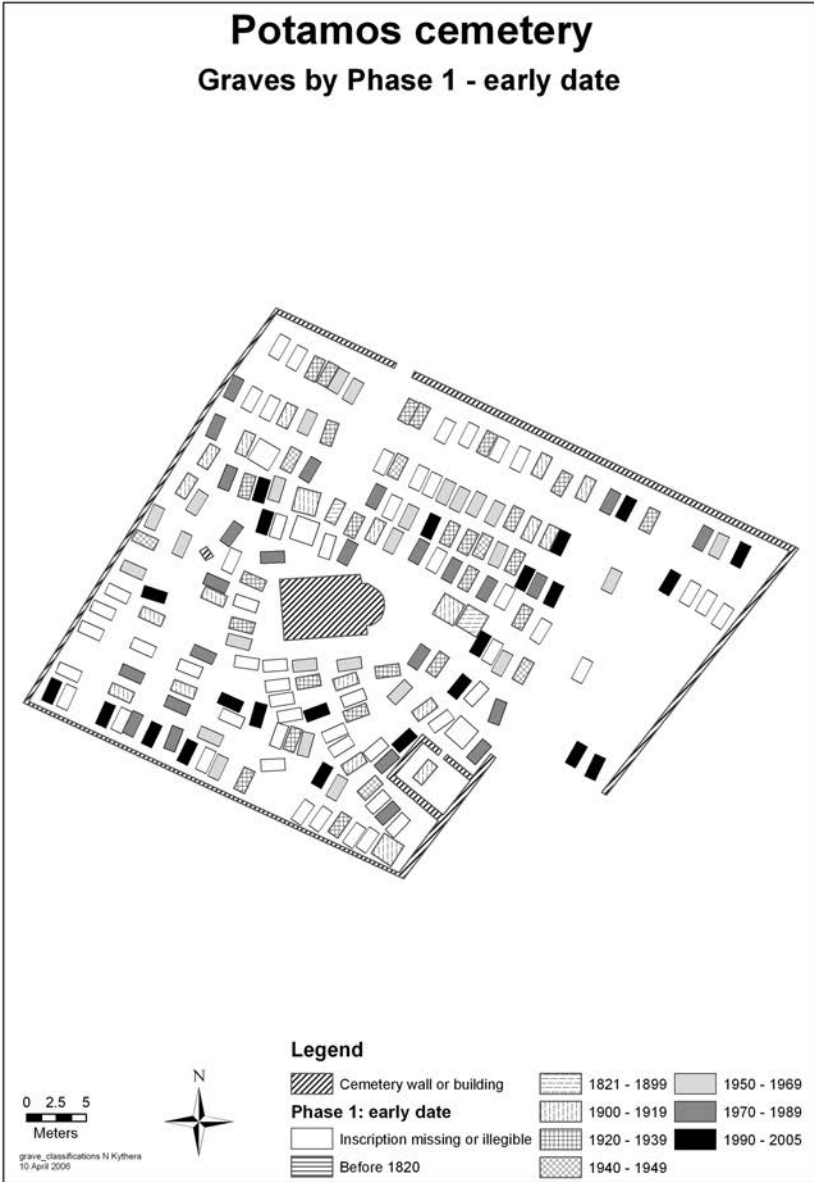
Fig. 17.4a   Orientation of graves in the Potamos and Sophiko cemeteries (Maps provided by Richard MacNeill)
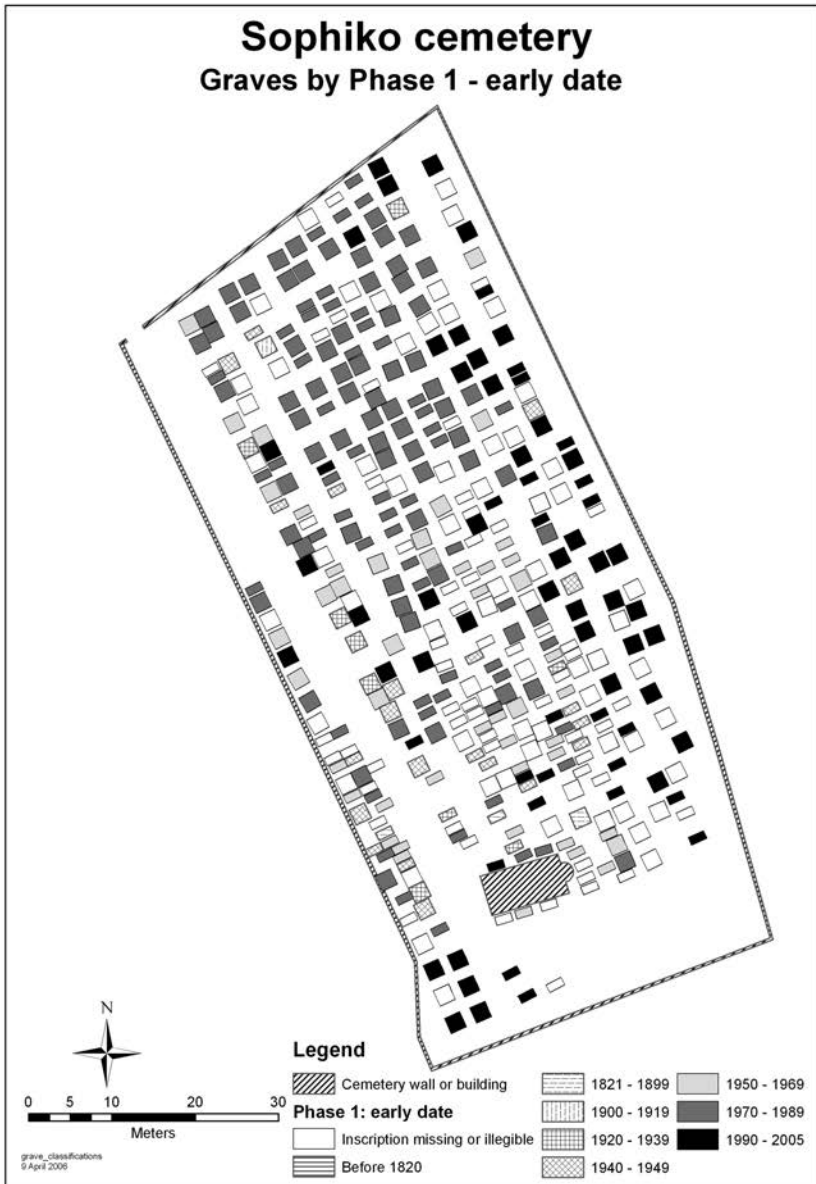
Fig. 17.4b   Orientation of graves in the Potamos and Sophiko cemeteries (Maps provided by Richard MacNeill)

Fig. 17.5   Grave features

Chronology of Cemeteries: The Historical and Archaeological Context

Perhaps surprisingly, virtually all rural Greek cemeteries were new foundations in the 19th and 20th centuries.[13] According to the guidelines specified in the Royal Decree of 1834, new cemeteries were to be established at a distance of at least 100m from the edge of the settlement. The urban centers seem to have complied with the legislation quickly, and the first large city cemeteries were rapidly established.[14] The rural countryside, however, was slow to follow suit, and the old churchyard

13   Pre-Modern cemeteries (meaning before the 19th century and dating back to Medieval times) were traditionally located around the churchyard of the main church in the center of each village.

14   For example, the Aʹ Cemetery in Athens (Αʹ Νεκροταφείο) in 1835 and the Nauplio cemetery in 1852.

cemeteries, usually found in the center of the villages where they had been since Medieval times, continued to be used. In the case of Kythera, its union with Greece, along with the other Ionian Islands, did not take place until 1864. Prior to this, Kythera had since 1815 been a Protectorate of Great Britain,[15] and its legislation was based on the British legal system.[16] It is clear that the Kytherians continued to use the old churchyard cemeteries in the center of the villages at least until the mid 1920s.[17]

Only a small number of the pre-Modern cemeteries are functioning in Greece today, and these are fast disappearing. Most of the churchyard cemeteries were relocated by the middle of the 20th century, and there are no longer any visible remains of these. The large "cementization campaign" (*τσιμεντόστρωση*),[18] which commenced during this time throughout Greece, also affected the churchyards. Most churchyards are now cemented over, thus covering any traces of the pre-existing cemeteries, most of which were dug up, the human remains relocated to the newly constructed village cemetery.

The cemeteries from the two regions in my sample have been organized in four chronological categories on the basis of the evidence available for the foundation date of each cemetery. These include: 1) cemeteries established during the 18th century or earlier, based on information on the parishes listed in the 18th-century Venetian census records;[19] 2) other pre-19th century cemeteries located within known pre-Modern settlements; 3) cemeteries established between 1880–1920, based on oral evidence and/or inscriptional information; and 4) cemeteries established post-1920 until the present, based on oral evidence and/or inscriptional information.

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15 With the Treaty of Paris in 1815, the Ionian Islands were placed under the protection of Great Britain. Queen Victoria ceded the Islands to Greece in 1864. For further information on the Ionian Islands under British protection, see Seton-Watson 1945; Pratt 1978; Gallant 2002.

16 Following on French initiatives of the 19th century, as well as adopting the American "Rural Cemetery" model, "The Garden Cemetery Movement" in England, advocating extramural cemeteries, did not begin until the middle of the 1820s. See Curl 1972, 1975, 1980; Ariès 1981, pp. 483–500. Before the Metropolitan Interments Act of 1851, which specifically demanded the closure of burial grounds within London proper, and the establishment of large national cemeteries beyond the city's confines, intramural cemeteries were the norm. See Great Britain 1851. For information on the British cemeteries of Kythera, see Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2006.

17 An article in a local journal published in 1923 by the then Bishop of Kythera, in which he argues for the removal of cemeteries from the center of villages, clearly indicates that intramural burial was normal practice at that time. See Dorotheos 1923.

18 Industrial quality concrete became readily available and affordable in Greece after World War II, and thus an overwhelming amount of concrete buildings were constructed while roads, *plateies* (central squares), and many traditional features, such as threshing floors, were all cemented over.

19 This category applies to cemeteries in Kythera only. Under Venetian rule (13th–18th centuries A.D.), a number of censuses were undertaken. For the 18th-century records (eight in total), see Απογραφές Πληθυσμού Κυθήρων, 18ος αιώνας, 1997.

Table 17.1.   Foundation chronology of cemeteries in northern Kythera and the
Eastern Korinthia

	Eastern Korinthia	**Northern Kythera**
Category 1		Katsoulianika Komenianika Osios Theodoros Perlegkianika Phriligkianika
Category 2	Sophiko Korphos—Ayia Anna Kechries	Ayia Anastasia
Category 3	Kyras Vryse Examilia Xylokeriza	Potamos Logothetianika Aroniadika
Category 4	Korphos—Ayios Nikolaos Yalataki Almyre	Ayia Marina Triphyllianika Kastrisianika Lianianika

Category 1   18th century or earlier—cemeteries of parishes listed in the 18th century Venetian census records (applies to Kythera only).
Category 2   Pre 19th century—cemeteries located within pre-modern settlements.
Category 3   1880–1920—based on oral evidence and/or inscriptional information.
Category 4   Post 1920–Present—based on oral evidence and/or inscriptional information

Table 17.1 lists the cemeteries in both the eastern Corinthia and northern Kythera according to these four chronological categories. Looking at the northern Kythera cemeteries that are still functioning today, six of these were established in the 18th century or earlier. These cemeteries are located inside the old parish churchyard, and, with the exception of Osios Theodoros, within presently inhabited settlements. Osios Theodoros, being a monastic establishment, was never a settlement, although it is listed as a parish in the 18th-century censuses. Instead, its cemetery serviced the small nearby communities at Pitsinades, Babakaradika, and Zaglanikianika.

The cemetery of Ayia Anastasia is very likely to have been established prior to the 19th century. The church of Ayia Anastasia is of Byzantine date, and although there was no parish of that name listed in the Venetian census records, the settlement itself appears to have been established before the 19th century.

The three larger cemeteries of Potamos, Logothetianika, and Aroniadika are all contemporary, established at around the same time, between 1880 and 1920. The

corresponding villages are the three largest villages in the northern part of the island (Potamos being the largest village in the whole island), both in area and in population, each one made up of a number of smaller parishes. The rest of the cemeteries in northern Kythera were founded later, the most recent being Kastrisianika in 1955.

In the eastern Corinthia, only the three cemeteries at Sophiko, Korphos (Ayia Anna), and Kechries may have been established before the 19th century. The cemeteries at Sophiko and Korphos (Ayia Anna) are located at some distance away from their corresponding villages, whereas the one at Kechries is in the center of the Modern settlement.[20] The village of Sophiko and its immediate hinterland, including the harbor of Korphos, was an important center as early as the Medieval period. Sophiko is also mentioned in the Grimani census of 1700.[21] The church of Ayios Nikolaos within the cemetery grounds at Sophiko is of Byzantine date,[22] and this may well be one of the reasons why the Early Modern cemetery was established around it.[23] There is an inscription in the cemetery dating to sometime after 1987, which refers to someone who was killed by the Turks and was buried there in 1821. The inscription implies that the cemetery was functioning during the 19th century. The cemetery of Ayia Anna at Korphos is built around the church of Ayia Anna, which bears an 18th-century inscription. The cemetery is no longer functioning, the last burial having taken place there in 1986. The new cemetery at Korphos, Ayios Nikolaos, was established in the 1980s, and a number of individuals buried in Ayia Anna were transferred for burial in the new cemetery.

The cemeteries of Kyras Vryse, Examilia, and Xylokeriza were founded when their corresponding villages were established, sometime after the Greek War of Independence and the subsequent establishment of the Modern Greek state in 1830.[24]

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20 Kechries has been an important harbor serving Corinth since Ancient times, and references to its settlement are provided in many Ancient, Medieval, and post-Medieval written sources. See Gregory 2007.

21 See Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 231–311.

22 On the basis of wall paintings found inside this church, Timothy Gregory dates it to the 13th century.

23 There is a tendency to establish cemeteries around already existing churches. At present, the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos is the only functioning cemetery at Sophiko. However, oral information attests to the presence of at least three other former cemeteries in the village that no longer exist.

24 Seventeenth-century travelers to the region suggest that, apart from the villages of Examilia and Kechries, there were no other functioning settlements between (Ancient) Corinth and the Saronic Gulf, and that most of the eastern Corinthia was deserted as a result of pirate raids. See Spon 1678; Wheler 1678; Gregory 2007. Nineteenth-century travelers also attest to a sparsely inhabited and agriculturally under-utilized countryside in the period of Ottoman domination and through the middle of the 19th century. See Dodwell 1819, pp. 2, 183; Taylor 1859, p. 29; Wyse 1865, p. 332. The majority of the people in the eastern Corinthia are descendents of *Arvanites* (Albanians who moved into the mountainous areas of the Corinthia in the 14th–17th century) who settled in the area in the 19th century, after the Greek War of Independence. See Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 68–100. Over the centuries these people have been culturally assimilated, and identify themselves as Greek. There is still a small but diminishing number of elderly people who still speak *Arvanitika* (an archaic form of Albanian).

All three cemeteries are located at the outskirts of their corresponding settlements. Interestingly, the cemetery of Kyras Vryse is located within the Byzantine fortress at Isthmia, adjacent to the church of Ayios Ioannes Prodromos on its west side, which itself may be of Byzantine date.[25]

Chronology of Graves: The Epigraphic Information

The dating of the graves inside the cemeteries was achieved on the basis of epigraphic information found on the grave monuments. It should be made clear that not all graves bear inscriptions, while those that do (normally found on slabs and/or crosses) are not necessarily contemporary with the date shown on the inscription. Also, the names of individuals recorded on the graves are not always representative of the true number of individuals buried within a single burial site. In other words, some individuals buried in graves may not be recorded in the inscriptions. The same problem exists with regard to the earliest date of death recorded on a grave. Early burials (prior to the 20th century) were not usually defined by monuments, or even by markers such as crosses. Such burials were often removed, or other individuals were added to them at a later date; and by the time the more recent monuments or markers were erected on the site, any information concerning previous burials was either lost or ignored.

Given that monuments are not always erected immediately after the time of an individual's death, and that inscriptions are often added to existing ones when a new individual is interred, the inscriptions in my study were identified according to groups or phases. Each of these phases was treated as belonging to a single chronological event in the creation of the inscription. A monument, therefore, may bear more than one phase of inscriptions, commemorating either an individual or a group of individuals buried inside the family plot at any given time. The identification of different phases of inscriptions on monuments was achieved by having regard to both the style of the inscriptions and their consistent arrangement in chronological groupings (names of individuals arranged in chronological order of their date of death). Therefore, the earliest date recorded in the earliest inscriptional phase of a monument (corresponding to the first commemorated individual in the inscriptions) was in most cases related directly to the time of construction of the monument.[26]

On the basis the earliest date provided in the inscriptions, the monuments were grouped into eight chronological periods of unequal length. The table in Fig. 17.6 lists the number of different types of monuments, and the materials of which they were made, within each one of these chronological periods.

The dominant type of grave throughout all periods in both regions is the above-ground grave, with significant increases in the Corinthia in the last three decades (Fig. 17.7). The most popular materials are marble and concrete, while the ground

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25   See Gregory and Kardulias 1990; Gregory 1993.

26   In a few cases, there is evidence to show that monuments were constructed at a much later date; however, most of them were constructed within a relatively short period after the individual's death.

	unknown	pre-1820	1821-99	1900-19	1920-39	1940-49	1950-69	1970-89	1990+
Eastern Korinthia									
Total	428	0	4	10	36	63	178	461	412
Ground	220	0	2	2	9	6	23	35	30
dirt	162	0	2	0	5	2	16	15	15
stone	19	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
concrete	79	0	2	1	3	4	13	23	8
marble	3	0	1	1	2	1	4	5	3
Above-Ground	208	0	2	6	27	57	154	426	382
dirt	38	0	0	1	0	2	3	15	15
stone	5	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	3
concrete	69	0	0	0	1	6	17	56	27
marble	142	0	2	6	25	54	144	390	355
Mausoleum	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Memorial	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Northern Kythera									
Total	272	0	9	41	92	45	88	85	72
Ground	127	0	0	3	10	3	12	16	12
dirt	85	0	0	0	5	2	6	14	8
stone	21	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	1
concrete	40	0	0	2	5	1	8	8	5
marble	5	0	0	2	2	0	2	2	3
Above Ground	143	0	7	38	82	42	76	69	60
dirt	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
stone	18	0	2	7	8	8	7	11	10
concrete	104	0	3	27	57	25	48	36	29
marble	91	0	6	34	72	37	68	60	53
Mausoleum	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Memorial	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Grave types per period

	pre-1820	1821-99	1900-19	1920-39	1940-49	1950-69	1970-89	1990+
Korinthia	0.0	0.1	0.5	1.8	3.2	8.9	23.1	27.5
Kythera	0.0	0.1	2.1	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.3	4.8

Adjusted number of datable graves per period (total number of graves/number of years in each period)
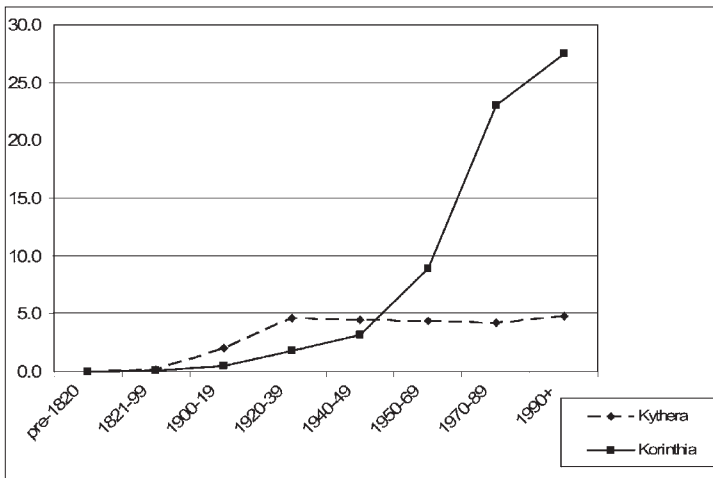
Adjusted number of datable graves per period

Fig. 17.6   Chronological development of monuments-materials
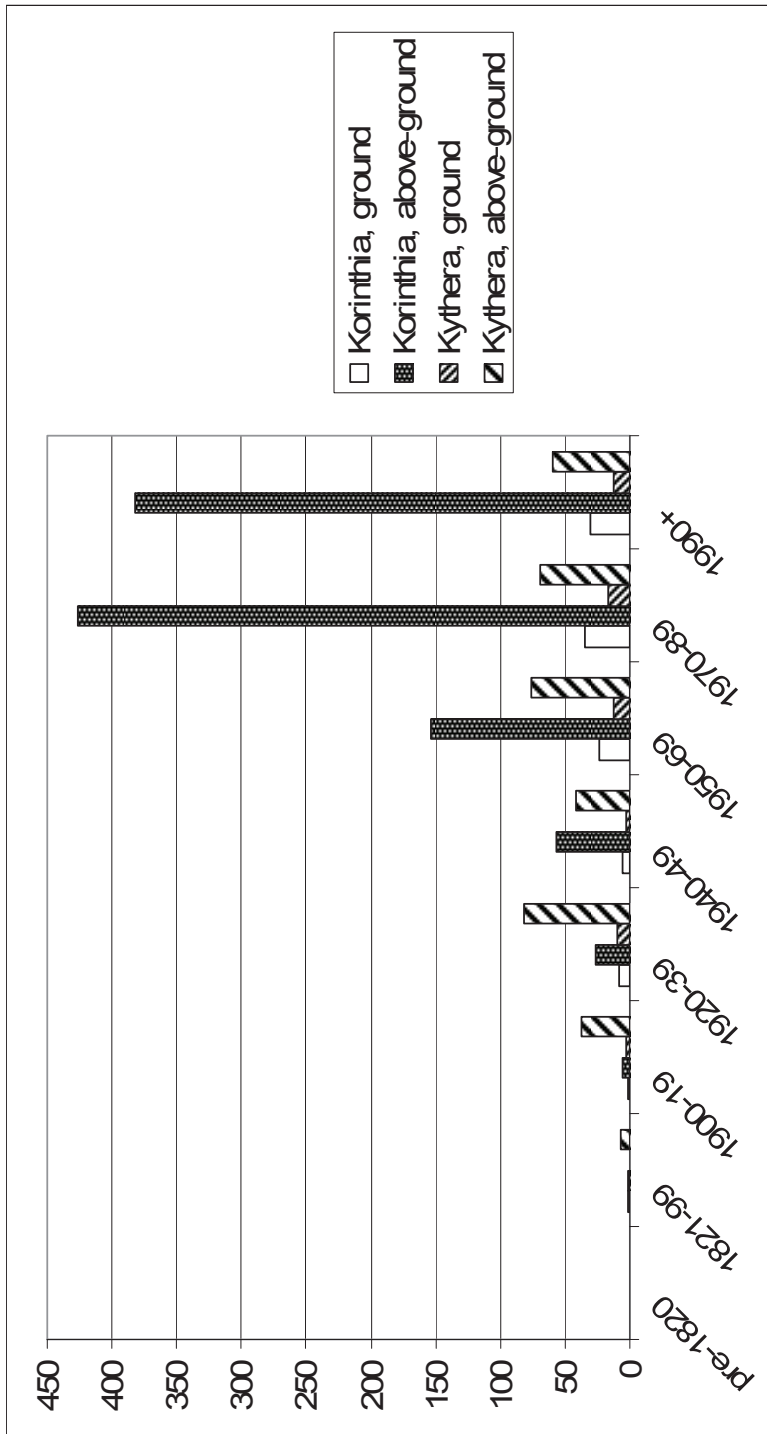
Fig. 17.7   Basic grave types by period

burials tend to be simple dirt burials (see Table in Fig. 17.6). Only five mausolea and two memorial style monuments were recorded.[27]

The graph in Fig. 17.6 shows an inverse relationship between the distance from the present and the number of existing graves.[28] In fact, there are no monuments dated before 1820 in either of the two regions in my study. In any case, with the exception of some of the older cemeteries, most burials from before 1820 would not have been in the existing cemeteries. Most of the earlier graves in the existing cemeteries were simple dirt burials with hardly any non-perishable markers, and they have disappeared completely.

The earliest inscriptional date in my sample is the one from the Sophiko cemetery mentioned above (1821). However, the monument itself is evidently of more recent construction, and the date is part of a single phase of inscriptions of which the last date is 1987. This means that the inscriptions were produced sometime after 1987, marking the death of the last commemorated individual. Therefore, this monument is not the earliest in my sample; but it is of particular interest with regard to the length of commemoration, showing how, in this case, ancestral memory extends over a period of 166 years. In other words, the person who constructed the monument and inscribed it sometime after 1987, was able to "remember" a number of relatives and their dates of death, the oldest one dating to 1821.

The oldest monument in my sample bears an inscriptional date of 1862, and is found in the Katsoulianika cemetery of northern Kythera. In fact, between 1862 and 1939, Kythera had an increasingly greater number of monuments in comparison to the eastern Corinthia (Fig. 17.6). This may be attributed to a number of factors, including the considerably earlier experience of the Kytherians with migration, both within Greece and outside, and the resulting affluence which came with it, as well as exposure to western ideas and practices of commemoration. Kytherians have a long history of migration, pre-dating that of many mainland Greeks, especially during the late 19th and early to mid 20th century. Early migration saw large numbers of Kytherians moving to Piraeus and Athens within Greece, as well as to Egypt and Asia Minor. Kytherians were also part of the early Greek experience in the United States, and, later on, in Australia, with waves of young males leaving the island to work in the demanding new industries of the New World (railroads, mines, steel factories), in the food industry of the large American cities, and in the cities and country towns of Australia. Many of these early migrants returned home, bringing with them much of the wealth they had acquired, which they could exhibit through the construction of expensive grave monuments, like the ones they would have experienced in the cemeteries of their former host countries. At the same time, elaborate grave monuments built in marble were becoming very fashionable in the urban cemeteries of Greece itself, especially Athens. What was traditionally a privilege of the upper classes was fast becoming accessible to any individual with enough money to afford

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27   *Mausoleum* refers to an elaborate and grandiose house-like tomb structure; a memorial-style monument refers to a tall upright stone pillar, slab, or cross marking the burial site, often carved with the deceased's portrait.

28   In this graph, the raw numbers provided in the table were adjusted to compensate for the different time-length of each period.

such extravagance. In fact, most of these early monuments in Kythera were imported from workshops in Piraeus and Athens, since there was none on the island at the time, thereby adding to their expense and uniqueness.

In the Corinthia, on the other hand, it seems that the construction of monuments developed at a much slower pace than in Kythera. Although geographically closer to Athens, during the 19th and early 20th centuries this region was culturally more isolated and inward-looking than Kythera, and its predominantly peasant population too poor to afford the construction of monuments.

A noticeably greater number of surviving monuments dated between 1920 and 1939 can be seen in both Kythera and the Corinthia (Fig. 17.6). Interestingly, this is a period of political unrest and economic instability within Greece, marking both the aftermath of World War I and the Asia Minor Disaster, with its influx of refugees. Both regions experienced an increase in their populations, with large numbers of Asia Minor refugees settling in the neighborhoods of the city of Corinth and its surrounding villages, and those of Kytherian descent returning to their ancestral villages on the island. Although one must be cautious in assuming a direct relationship between the increase in the local populations and the number of new monuments (and therefore burials) constructed in both regions, it is interesting, nevertheless, to note that the number of monuments constructed in this period is greater than that in previous decades. Obviously, the demand for monuments increased, making them more accessible to those who could afford them. Such demand, however, also reflects a noticeable change in Greek commemoration practices, with the growth of monument construction, a western phenomenon that was enthusiastically adopted in Greece in the early 20th century by society at large.[29]

The decade of World War II and the Greek Civil War (1940–1949) is attested by an increasing number of early phase inscriptions in monuments found in the Corinthia. During this period in Kythera, however, there is a slight decrease in the number of early phase inscriptions commemorating individuals. In fact, the figures and the graph in Fig. 17.6 suggest that, from this period on in Kythera, the curve levels out; this points to a steady number of datable graves all the way to the present, while, in the Corinthia, there is a remarkably steep increase, especially for the period 1950–1969. This phenomenon can be explained by a direct relationship between the increases in population experienced in the Corinthia in the last 30 years and its growing affluence. In Kythera, on the other hand, the lack of any increase in datable graves is directly related to the vast depopulation that took place on the island as a result of systematic emigration, the last wave having taken place between the 1950s and 1980s, especially to Athens and Piraeus. It is only in the last decade that there

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29   Monument construction by non-elites is a trend closely related to the Garden Cemetery Movement in Europe and the Rural Cemetery Movement in America, mentioned in footnote 16. Characterized by expressions of romanticism and sentimentality, these movements celebrated the life achievements of the individual, while at the same time providing an outlet for expression of the bereaved, against a backdrop of beautiful natural scenery or a humanly-created landscape. There is considerable scholarship on the subject of grave monuments and epitaphs, and the ideology behind their construction in a western context. See Ariès 1981, Voller 1991, Guthke 2003.

has been a resurgence of the population, with a number of emigres returning to the island, and a considerable number of immigrants (especially Albanian) settling in many of the near-abandoned villages.

Issues of Commemoration and Identity

Cemeteries and grave monuments are material manifestations of commemoration,[30] loaded with social meanings, emotions, and expressions of social relationships. A cemetery as a whole is a clear manifestation of communal memory, whereby the physical demarcation in the landscape of the cemetery itself provides a point of reference, a historical or inscribed memory for the inhabitants of the settlement linked to it.[31] The graves and monuments found within the cemetery boundaries are also part of the collective memory of the individual families associated with them, although they can simultaneously also comprise the autobiographical memory of individual family members.[32]

The concept of memory and commemoration is closely linked to the concept of identity.[33] "Identity" is an ambiguous term which, in this context, refers to an individual's place in society, to a sense of belonging, both in terms of personal identity

30 "Commemoration" is often defined as the act of honoring the memory of a person or thing(s) as a mark of respect. The word is almost synonymous with "remembrance," the action of remembering, a memory, or a thing kept or given as a reminder, or commemoration, of someone or something. Remembrance can be realized by an individual in the form of one's own individual act of remembering, a very private and personal experience, or by a group of individuals in a collective sense, while commemoration is a thoroughly communal act, requiring the involvement of more than one's own self in remembering. See Casey 2000, pp. 216, 221. Commemoration is, therefore, realized through the ritualistic re-enactment of a memory, involving bodily actions by a group of participants at a certain place and time. See Van Dyke and Alcock 2003, pp. 5–6.

31 "Historical memory" refers to the act of remembering through documentary evidence (written records, photography), and kept alive through commemorations, ritual, and other bodily activities. In this case, the individual does not remember events, things, or persons directly, as there is no personal experience of these; therefore, "the past is stored and interpreted by social institutions". "Inscribed memory" is characterized by the construction of tangible objects, including texts and monuments; see Halbwachs 1992, p.24; Connerton 1989. For more information on historical aspects of memory, see Durkheim 1947; Schwartz 1982; Hutton 1993; Darian-Smith and Hamilton 1994; and Le Goff 1996. For scholarship on memory and commemoration in archaeology, see Rowlands 1993; Tarlow 1997, 1999, 2004; Alcock 2002; and Van Dyke and Alcock 2003.

32 "Collective memory", often referred to as "social memory," is defined as a socially constructed notion, requiring the support of a group of individuals delimited in space and time. See Halbwachs 1980 [1950], p. 84. "Autobiographical memory" is remembering through personal experience of the past. This type of memory tends to fade with time, and may eventually be lost altogether, especially when contact with persons and things associated with that memory becomes limited, or ceases to take place. See Halbwachs 1992, p. 24.

33 "Identity" is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "the quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature, properties, or in particular qualities under consideration; absolute or essential sameness; oneness" (2nd ed., 1989).

and as collective or group identity.[34] Like commemoration, identity is a socially constructed process, performed through embodiment and action, and "inconceivable without history and without the remembrance and commemoration of history, however much such remembrance may distort historical events and facts."[35] Time is a crucial factor in this commemoration process, as what is remembered from the past, by individuals and by groups, of individuals within a given society links them together in the present and the future. Therefore, the interdependence of memory and identity over space and time is a process that deserves special consideration in studies that involve commemoration.[36]

In examining patterns of commemoration in my sample of cemeteries from Kythera and the Corinthia, identity is seen to operate at three different, but at the same time inter-related levels: a) the national level, wherein uniform practices and trends in commemoration point to a unifying and homogeneous Greek national identity; b) the regional level, wherein distinctly regional trends are observed; and c) at the local community level, characterized by unique local practices and trends. At the same time, identity is also perceived to be dynamic and ever-changing, simultaneously operating among all three levels, with local traits influenced, at different times, by regional, nationwide, and even global trends. While there are some distinctively Greek traits in burial practice and commemoration dating to Late Antiquity and earlier, others, including monument construction, are clearly passed on to the present by means of western influences and ideals of Modern nationhood.

My observations are similar to those made in recent years by various historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists interested in Greek identity. While issues of cultural continuity have been discussed in much detail over the course of the 20th century, as part of an intellectual nationalist agenda in the promotion of a Modern Greek identity,[37] it is only in recent years that scholars have addressed Modern Greek

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34   Barnard and Spencer 1996, p. 292.

35   Wolschke-Bulmahn 2001, p. 2.

36   There is a considerable amount of scholarship devoted to this topic in disciplines other than archaeology, such as history, anthropology, sociology, psychology, philosophy, and geography. Some examples include Bodnar 1992, Etlin 1984, Gillis 1994, Lowenthal 1985, Maier 1988, Wolschke-Bulmahn 2001. Influenced by theoretical developments in sociology and anthropology, archaeologists in recent years have challenged the traditional culture-historical approaches with more sophisticated and socially oriented approaches on issues of ethnicity, race, class, and gender. Noteworthy are the collected studies of Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble 1996; Orcer 2001; Meskell and Preucel 2004; Casella and Fowler 2005; and Díaz-Andreu et al. 2005. In terms of commemoration and identity, and of relevance to my own study, important contributions include Tarlow 1999, 2004; Silverman 2002; and Cannon 2005.

37   Countering arguments that claimed no direct link of continuity between Ancient and Modern Greece (Fallmerayer 1830–1836; 1835), many of these earlier studies are based on theories of continuity and religious syncretism that treat many of the rituals observed in contemporary Greek communities as remnants ofr earlier pre-Christian religious traditions that continue, either unchanged or partly modified, in the Modern period. See survivalists such as Lawson 1910, and Megas 1940.

identity as an interesting phenomenon to be studied in its own right.[38] The following analyses, based on data from the cemeteries, examine issues of commemoration observed at the national, regional, and local levels, considering such issues as religion, ethnicity, age, and gender. Five main themes emerge from the analyses in relation to commemoration patterns, all of which, I argue, are characteristic of Greek cemeteries in general, with only very subtle differences at the regional and local levels. These Greece-wide themes include: 1) the importance of the Greek Orthodox religion; 2) the significance of the nuclear family and the role of women in establishing and maintaining the commemoration process; 3) the absence of a community ethic with regard to cemetery appearance and maintenance; 4) an adherence to standardized patterns of commemoration at the expense of the individual; and 5) the ephemeral nature of commemoration itself, often lasting little beyond a single generation.

1. Religion and ethnicity.

Religion, not ethnicity, is by tradition the key factor determining who can be buried inside a Greek cemetery. Almost all cemeteries in rural Greece are one-denominational (Greek Orthodox), and, with some exceptions, only Orthodox Christians have access to burial within the consecrated cemetery grounds.[39] Burial (that is inhumation) is the only form of disposal recognized by the Greek Orthodox religion, and the only form practiced in Greek cemeteries.[40]

Prior to the Kapodistrias Plan, with the exception of a few, very specific regions in Greece that have traditionally maintained concentrations of ethnic and religious minorities (particularly in northern and north-eastern Greece, as well as on some of the Aegean Islands),[41] the Greek population has been more or less homogeneous,

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38 For an overview of such discussion, see Herzfeld 1982. Important contributions on contemporary Greek identity are the recent studies by cultural historians Leontis 1995, 1999, and Gourgouris 1996. See also the anthropological study by Sutton 1998, and contributions by archaeologists such as Morris 1994; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996, 1999; Yalouri 2001; Hamilakis 2003; Athanassopoulou 2002. Insights into Modern Greek identity can also be found in the architectural study of Modern Athens by Bastéa 2000.

39 Bennett 1994, pp. 126–127.

40 A commitment was made by the Greek government on 15 December, 1998 that it would put before Parliament a comprehensive draft law which would regulate cremation (*Ta Nea* newspaper, 16 December, 1998). As this did not come to pass (mainly due to the opposition of the Greek Orthodox Church), the matter has now been referred to the National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR) on the grounds of rights to religious freedom: http://www.nchr.gr/category.php?category_id=86

Although not openly discussed, discrimination in death against non-Orthodox believers in Greece is quite widespread, according to an article by Catherine Boitard of *Agence France-Presse* published in *The Kathimerini* (English Edition) newspaper on 13 January, 2006. "Burial a trial for non-Orthodox: Muslims, Catholics face discrimination from local communities when putting relatives to rest."

41 There is a substantial Muslim presence in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. The Muslim cemetery at Yeni Mahalle in Komotine (Thrace) is the only officially functioning Muslim cemetery in Greece at present. It has been recorded and studied by the e-MEM Project:

especially in the rural regions.[42] In the Corinthia, most of the present-day inhabitants are descendents of *Arvanites*, with large concentrations especially in the mountainous regions, including Sophiko, as well as Xylokeriza, Kyras Vryse, and Examilia. These people have regarded themselves as Greek for the last few centuries, and there are presently no significant differences between them and other Greeks, with only a few of the older generation still able to speak *Arvanitika*.[43]

In the last couple of decades, with the increased influx of ethnic groups into Greece, mainly Balkan and especially Albanian, but also Central and Eastern European, and Russian, as well as the existing gypsy population in many parts of the countryside, the social and economic landscape of Greece as a whole has changed dramatically. The incentives offered to many of the new arrivals, especially within the small rural communities, have resulted in the discarding, at least officially, of their traditional religion (mainly Muslim), in favor of Christian Orthodoxy. Their assumption of Orthodoxy also includes a new identity, and a change of original names to Christian and Hellenized names for all family members. Among other things, the assumption of a new Greek identity ensured access for these individuals, or at least those dead, to burial within the local cemetery.

Since the introduction of the Kapodistria Plan, cemeteries are now more open to individuals other than local parishioners, irrespective of ethnicity or religion. Also, recent Greek immigration laws make it easier for working immigrants (a large percentage of them Albanian) to obtain working visas legally, together with fair working conditions and pay, while maintaining their original religious and ethnic identity. In the past, this had been very difficult, given that most of them arrived in Greece as illegal immigrants. The new laws have also meant that the rights of these foreign laborers are now protected, both socially and in the workplace. The ability to work legally and to create wealth now provides them with choices as to whether they want to stay in Greece on a more permanent basis, or to travel frequently back home, where there is presently a certain degree of political stability. Immigrants are now able to pay the high costs involved in purchasing a burial plot, but instead it seems that, for personal and sentimental reasons, most of them choose to transport their dead relatives for burial back to their home country, an expensive task. This means that, although the demographic appearance of many of the rural settlements in the Greek countryside has changed considerably over the last two decades with the influx of new economic immigrants, most of them quite young, very little has actually changed with regard to the "demographics" of the cemeteries, which still

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http://www.ims.forth.gr/joint_projects/emem/burial_customs.htm. There is also a significant Catholic population on some of the Aegean islands, such as Syros and Rhodes.

42   Large communities of *Arvanites*, Vlachs, and Slavs have settled in different parts of Greece over the centuries. Even though they still maintain many of their linguistic traits, they are fully assimilated, and identify themselves culturally as Greek Orthodox. They are not, therefore, regarded as "minorities" in any formal or political sense, like the Gypsy, Muslim, and other populations, who clearly see themselves as culturally distinct from the mainstream Greek population, and have a strong political agenda.

43   There has been a movement in recent years for the *Arvanites* to be regarded as a minority; however, the extent to which this is actually taken seriously by the majority of the *Arvanites* is unknown.

present a generally homogeneous picture. As more of these immigrants choose to stay in Greece permanently, and as they age and eventually die, one would expect that noticeable changes to the cemetery demographics will take place.

Table 2 shows that most of the individuals commemorated in the cemeteries in both the Corinthia and Kythera are Greeks, most of them local to each region. Only a small number of them are from outside the region. In the Corinthia sample, there are only three Albanians, and nineteen gypsies, the latter all from the Examilia cemetery.[44] In Kythera, on the other hand, there is only one non-Greek individual commemorated (in Ayia Anastasia).

Table 17.2.   Ethnicity and locality as represented by names in funerary inscriptions

		number	% of region
Eastern Korinthia	Greek, Local	1180	74.1%
	Greek, Non-local	126	7.9%
	Albanian	3	0.2%
	Gypsy	19	1.2%
	Other	7	0.4%
	no information	257	16.1%
Northern Kythera			
	Greek, Local	529	75.1%
	Greek, Non-local	27	3.8%
	Other	1	0.1%
	no information	147	20.9%

2. The role of the family in commemoration: a strictly gendered issue.

The basic unit of burial within the cemetery is the family plot. Although the extended family is sometimes represented, it is the nuclear family (in most instances the husband and wife only) that defines the family plot. Based on a system of "reciprocal obligations," family members (in most cases the adult children) are obliged to undertake the responsibility of performing the appropriate death rituals for their

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44   There is a large settlement of gypsies, established in the 1950s, located at the outskirts of Examilia. According to local information, there was much resistance to their settling in the area; many of them were initially denied burial in the local cemetery.

deceased relatives, in return for the house and property they inherit from them. These rituals take on the appearance of public performances to be carefully evaluated by the community at large, in order to determine whether the obligations have been properly fulfilled. The construction of what are perceived by the community to be appropriate monuments is a partial fulfillment of such obligations.[45]

As Danforth has pointed out, the grave represents a new house for the deceased and a second house for the bereaved.[46] Referred to as the "oikos,"[47] the grave stands for the eternal home of the deceased, its development over the course of the last two centuries having closely followed that of Modern house construction. Early examples of simple mud brick houses correspond to dirt burials in the ground, while contemporary large concrete-based and marble-decorated mansions correspond to the currently fashionable marble and granite above-ground monuments (see table in Fig. 17.6).

If the immediate family members are the ones being commemorated, the practice of commemoration itself is a strictly gendered one, falling exclusively within the control of the female members, led by the oldest female in the family. Death rituals in general are the responsibility of women, from the preparation of the dead body for burial, to lamentation and the performing of memorial services (*mnemosyna*).[48] The cemetery itself is regarded as female space; males and children are usually excluded from participating in the daily practice of lighting the *kandeli* and from contributing to the general maintenance and appearance of the gravesite, including the cleaning and washing of the monument, the weeding and trimming of flowers and plants, and the clearing of rubbish. The women are also responsible for remembering the dates of death of their individual relatives, in order to perform the appropriate memorial services on their anniversary and on special calendar dates according to the Orthodox tradition. Throughout fieldwork, we observed that far more women than men were visiting the cemetery and attending graves, either individually or in the company of other women. Often, younger women would accompany elderly women, and they would be instructed in the performance of the necessary duties.

3. Maintenance and preservation of cemeteries and graves: family vs. community, and the short life-span of graves.

The significance of the immediate family in commemoration is also reflected in the way the graves are maintained and cared for. An interesting observation made during fieldwork is the great variety in the condition and general appearance of the graves, some cared for and in good condition, existing side-by-side with others that are neglected, abandoned, and often even destroyed. When no family members are left to take care of the family grave, it is no longer maintained; and eventually it becomes

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45   For more information on reciprocal obligations within the family in Greece, see Danforth 1982; Kenna 1976, 1991.
46   Danforth 1982, p. 133.
47   Οίκος in Greek, meaning "house".
48   Alexiou 1974; Danforth 1982, pp. 132, 138; Francis, Kellaher, and Neophytou 2005, p. 128.

abandoned. The state of neglect and abandonment of a grave is enough proof that there is no claim to be made over its ownership, and it is soon taken over by others. Any existing monuments or features (crosses, sculpture, etc.) are destroyed and thrown about, and the remains of the previous occupants discarded. This process of "forgetting," or discontinuity in commemoration, often takes place within a very short period of time (not uncommonly within a single generation). I have argued elsewhere that this phenomenon points to the absence of a community ethos within Greek society, whereby commemoration and respect of one's memory stops at the family grave, with no consideration for the general appearance and maintenance of the cemetery as a whole.[49] There will be further discussion on the ephemeral nature of commemoration in point 5 below.

4. Lack of individualism and sentimentality

The monuments in Greek cemeteries, along with the types of sculpture and grave offerings associated with them, all seem to conform to standardized patterns and designs, presenting an image of homogeneity and conformity throughout the cemeteries. This conformity is characteristic of Greek society in general, whereby individualism (especially in fashion) is regarded with suspicion, a divergence from what is perceived to be mainstream and accepted by the community at large. Key to our understanding is a conformist ethos, whereby every member of society accepts the same standards of public performance, and whereby a collective perception of what is socially acceptable causes people to imitate each other's behavior. This ethos is observable in most aspects of Greek life, and is apparent in the arrangement and construction of graves and monuments throughout Greek cemeteries. Divergence from this conformity does exist, as do more personalized and sentimental displays, but these are very rare, and restricted either to prominent members of the community (usually priests and politicians) in the case of personalized displays, or to young individuals (especially children) in the case of sentimental ones. These rare expressions of sentimentality in the form of sculpture, grave offerings, and epitaphs, are evidence of westernization, as they are not typical of traditional Greek commemoration.

Table 17.3 shows the number of graves in my sample that contain epitaphs, sculpture, and religious offerings. Epitaphs,[50] represented in only 2.8% of all graves, follow strict literary and thematic formulas, including religious and non-religious themes, Biblical or ancient quotations, and either a poetic or a prose format. Of these, a significant number are of a personal and sentimental nature (personalized poems and prose expressing the grief and sorrow of the dedicator), and commemorative (text celebrating the deceased's achievements in life), while those of a religious nature are very few. Sculpture is represented in only 5.5% of all graves, and, unlike epitaphs, most are of a religious nature.[51] There do exist examples of commemorative

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49 Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2007b.

50 An inscribed dedication on a grave commemorating an individual buried there.

51 Interestingly, most of this religious sculpture includes generic representations of angels and doves, and westernized representations of Jesus and the Virgin. Religious grave

sculpture (usually in the form of a portrait of the deceased) and of more personalized sculpture (commemorating a particular characteristic of the deceased, related to his or her occupation, character, or personal interests), but they are very few in number. Grave offerings are much more widespread, found in 63.5% of all graves, many of these of a religious nature (icons, incense burners, *kandeli*), but also a significant number of personal items belonging to the deceased (such as children's toys, cigarette lighters, perfume, hair combs, etc.) and commemorative offerings (photographs of the deceased).

Table 17.3   Commemorative elements on graves, absolute numbers and percents (note that elements in the various sub-categories may overlap, so the percentages may add to more than 100%)

		number	% of graves
Epitaphs		64	2.8%
	Religious	3	0.1%
	Commemorative	15	0.7%
	Personal	46	2.0%
Sculpture		126	5.5%
	Religious sculpture	124	5.4%
	Commemorative sculpture	32	1.4%
	Personal sculpture	28	1.2%
Offerings		1458	63.5%
	Religious offerings	1457	63.5%
	Commemorative offerings	739	32.2%
	Personal offerings	921	40.1%

Table 17.4 shows that most inscriptions on grave monuments commemorate one or two individuals only; those commemorating more than three are comparatively few. Of the total number of individuals commemorated, there is an overrepresentation of men (59.2%) compared to women (39.4%), and a significant underrepresentation of children (only 1.7%). In married couples, the man is usually older than the woman, and since men tend to die younger than women, it is no surprise to see this overrepresentation of male commemorations.

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offerings include oil lanterns, incense burners, and icons.

Table 17.4. Individuals commemorated by gender and age

total	3446	
adult females	1318	39.4%
adult males	2014	59.2%
children, females	8	0.3%
children, males	48	1.4%

The absence of children in commemoration, however, is quite remarkable, since it is believed that, at least until the middle of the 20th century, the infant and child mortality rate must have been very high. The evidence simply points to the "invisibility" of children in Greek commemoration. Of the few cases of child commemoration in my sample, the ones dating to the last couple of decades are indeed very elaborate (fancy, well-maintained monuments with personalized or sentimental expressions of grief, in the form of grave offerings, sculpture, and epitaphs). This shows a new form of expression in the commemoration of children, influenced by the western tradition of grieving for the loss of a child. Also, one might suggest that the traditional system of familial "reciprocal obligation," discussed earlier, would not have included children, and therefore it was not a social requirement to have them commemorated if they died.

5. Contradicting eternal memory: the short duration of commemoration.

I have elsewhere argued in detail that most graves are in use by a single family for only a short period of time, in many cases no longer than a few decades (or just over a single generation).[52] While most graves bear epigraphic evidence of a single commemoration (only one individual commemorated), it is very common for a husband and wife to be commemorated in a single grave, and less frequently other close relatives are commemorated along with them.

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52 Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2007a, 2007b.

Table 17.5   Table showing length of commemoration in years between the first and last inscribed commemoration; absolute numbers and percentages for all graves and abandoned graves

Length of Commemoration	total			abandoned		
	2295	% of total	% valid dates	622	% of total	% valid dates
no date	681	29.7%		329	52.9%	
single date	923	40.2%		179	28.8%	
1 to 10	185	8.1%	26.8%	24	3.9%	21.1%
11 to 20	167	7.3%	24.2%	27	4.3%	23.7%
21 to 30	124	5.4%	17.9%	18	2.9%	15.8%
31 to 40	74	3.2%	10.7%	12	1.9%	10.5%
41 to 50	63	2.7%	9.1%	11	1.8%	9.6%
51 to 60	42	1.8%	6.1%	12	1.9%	10.5%
61 to 70	18	0.8%	2.6%	6	1.0%	5.3%
71 to 80	10	0.4%	1.4%	2	0.3%	1.8%
81 to 90	1	0.0%	0.1%	0	0.0%	0.0%
91 to 100	6	0.3%	0.9%	1	0.2%	0.9%
161 to 170	1	0.0%	0.1%	1	0.2%	0.9%

Table 5 is based on an analysis on the overall difference in years between the earliest and latest inscriptional dates for the earliest and latest commemorated interments found on a grave.[53] This span of time, called "length of commemoration[54]," is expressed in categories of 10-year intervals (1 to 10, 11 to 20, 21 to 30, etc.), while the number of graves in each category is shown both in absolute form and in

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53   It should be stressed that this analysis is based entirely on the inscriptional dates provided on a grave, and that the inscriptions do not necessarily correspond to the reality in the ground. Interred individuals are frequently omitted from the inscriptions, intentionally or unintentionally, and for a number of reasons. In other instances, individuals commemorated in the inscriptions of a particular grave are not necessarily buried in that grave, but elsewhere.

54   The term "length of commemoration" is used here in this technical sense: the number of years between the first and last date on a grave. We realize that this may not correspond precisely with the length of time any individual is remembered by his/her family. Rather, it is a means to measure how long a given grave has been used. In that sense, the term is felt to represent an important phenomenon that does, in the end, provide evidence about the duration of actual remembrance.

percentages, first of the total number of graves, then of the graves with a calculated length of commemoration; obviously, the latter case excludes both graves lacking any chronological indication and those with a single date. The table shows that the majority of graves do indeed bear a single date commemorating the interment, usually of only one person (40.2% of total graves). The general pattern that emerges is a steady decrease in the number of graves, as the length of commemoration increases. As a preliminary observation, we can note that the mean length of commemoration, for all the graves in the sample, is 24.84 years (Table 6), with a median of 20 years. This latter number is presumably more significant, since it minimizes the effect of outliers on the higher end of the scale (99 and 166 years; see the further discussion of this below).

Table 17.6.   Average number of years in the duration of commemoration based on the difference between earliest and latest commemoration dates

All graves with valid dates	maximum	mean	median
Korinthia	166	27.23	18
Kythera	92	30.99	27
Combined	166	30	25

Only abandoned graves with valid dates	maximum	mean	median
Korinthia	166	21.87	18
Kythera	99	31.6	27
Combined	166	24.84	20

A similar pattern may be observed in the analysis of those graves observed to be in an abandoned state at the time of recording.[55] Although the total number of abandoned graves with dates is small (622, or 27% of the total number of graves), and the analysis is therefore based on only a small number of graves for each category of commemoration, the results point again to a pattern of a relatively short

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55   Since abandonment was observed as the condition of a grave at the time of its recording, it is impossible to know exactly how long after the last commemoration the grave was abandoned. In any case, it is assumed that an abandoned grave, bearing inscriptions listing the individuals buried in it, is no longer cared for by the family to which it belongs; it remains unclaimed, and therefore "available" to be taken over and reused. Thus, the last inscription appearing on an abandoned grave marks the last commemoration, the last named individual bringing use of the grave in its present form to an end. Once the grave is taken over, the monument and its inscriptions will be destroyed and replaced by new ones, the old commemorations will be forever lost and forgotten, and the grave will commence its new life-cycle.

duration of grave usage and length of commemoration (Table 5). However, it is interesting that the length of commemoration recorded for the abandoned graves is significantly higher than that of the whole sample: a mean of 30 and a median of 25 years (Table 6). This difference is probably explained by the fact that the abandoned graves have already completed their "life-cycle," whereas those graves currently in use have not yet reached that stage, and, logically, many of them might be expected to produce evidence of commemoration into the future. This may indicate that, in fact, the evidence for the abandoned graves is a better estimate of the reality of how long graves in a contemporary Greek cemetery might be expected to be used.
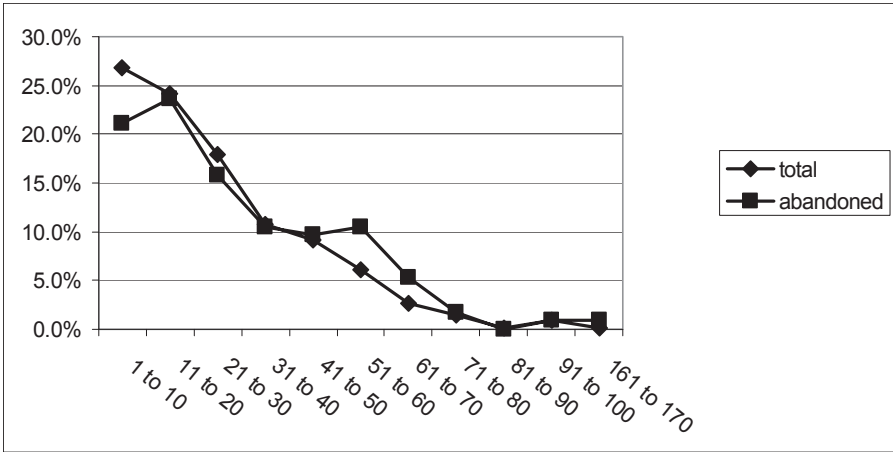
Fig. 17.8   Line graphs showing length of commemoration in years between the first and last inscribed commemoration based on the percentage of total graves with valid dates and the percentage of abandoned graves with valid dates

The line graphs in Fig. 17.8 are based on percentages of the graves with preserved dates that allow us to observe the length of commemoration. They clearly illustrate the decline in the number of graves as the length of commemoration increases. The evidence from the total sample of graves produces a relatively smooth line, whereas the sample of abandoned graves is less smooth. The overall impression from the two, however, is remarkably similar, and may be seen as an accurate representation of the length of commemoration in the cemeteries studied.

The evidence assembled clearly shows the ephemeral nature of both grave usage and length of commemoration by individual families. The argument above shows, from the median "lifespan" of the already-abandoned graves, that the use of a grave by a single family can be estimated to be 25 years, or slightly over a single generation.

Conclusion

On the basis of the evidence from the Kythera and Corinthia cemeteries, it appears that there are very few differences in commemoration patterns between the two regions. The commemoration patterns observed in both regions reveal the same Hellenic attitudes, based on familial obligations and the responsibilities of women, the strict ritual rules of Greek Orthodoxy, and a dominant Greek population (despite the predominantly large number of *Arvanites* in the Corinthia), whereby ethnic minorities appear to be "invisible." Nevertheless, both regions have also experienced significant changes with regard to commemoration patterns in the last couple of centuries. These changes are directly linked to the development of new attitudes consequent upon the establishment of Greece as a new nation after 1830, which followed western prototypes in the foundations of its administration and judicial system, as well as in its urban design and civic architecture. The location and appearance of cemeteries are directly affected as a result of such western attitudes.

Although the legal requirement that cemeteries be located at a specified distance from the centers of settlements was only gradually adhered to, most Modern cemeteries adhere to these regulations at present. At the same time, their predecessors within churchyards are no longer functioning nor visible, most of them covered over by concrete. In many instances, the collective memory of the location of these earlier cemeteries is fast disappearing, with only a few surviving elders in possession of such information.

Alongside the change in location of the cemeteries, their overall appearance has also changed gradually over the years. Over time, more and more above-ground monuments have appeared, varying in degree of elaboration, along with other permanent markers, such as marble crosses and sculpture, replacing the simple dirt burials and perishable crosses of the past. The trend to erect monuments in commemoration of the deceased is one that has come as a direct result of contact with this practice experienced by Greek migrants in the West, or through the infusion of similar influences directly from Europe in the large urban centers, especially Athens, and the development of Greek urban cemeteries, which set trends to be passed on eventually to the rural areas.

If many of the changes observed in Greek cemeteries in the last two centuries can be attributed to western influences, the management and overall maintenance of the cemeteries are definitely non-western. The absence of community participation in the upkeep of cemeteries and of individual graves found within them is evident from their overall poor and untidy condition. Respecting the memory of the deceased stops at the individual family plot, each family taking care of its own grave, often in open disrespect for those adjacent or nearby. It remains to be seen whether this phenomenon may soon change as the *demos*, which is now responsible for cemeteries, becomes increasingly more involved in their management.

Also, unlike their western counterparts, there is very little sentimentality associated with Greek grave monuments and the inscriptions found on them, and then only in extraordinary circumstances (for example, the unexpected death of a child or young person). In fact, monuments, epitaphs, sculpture, and all other displays of commemoration observed in Greek cemeteries adhere to highly

standardized patterns, personalized expressions of grief and commemoration being a rare phenomenon. These few exceptions stand out amidst a crowd of similarity, even sameness, within which a distinguishing factor is the degree of maintenance and the overall condition of the grave site. Although monuments are not absolutely identical to each other in terms of style and materials, it is clear that there is only a limited repertoire of styles and materials, the most common being the above-ground white marble constructions, with marble *kandeli* case at the head of the monument. Materials used in the construction of monuments are standardized, and there is little variety of building material available from the building supplies yards. The craftsmen who work these materials are not specialized in the construction of grave monuments, but are all-round builders contracted to build monuments on the basis of what is available. Most of them do not carry catalogues for clients to choose from. In fact, clients will usually choose a style of monument already available in the cemetery, and ask the builder to copy it. Whether or not the limited availability of materials and styles is an adequate explanation for the standardization observed in cemeteries, conformity is undoubtedly a characteristic of Greeks, divergence being regarded as "unfashionable" and unacceptable by the standards of society at large. This phenomenon is observable in many other facets of Greek society, including domestic house construction and in the way people dress.

The erection of monuments therefore serves as the partial fulfillment by family members of their obligation towards their deceased relatives, as well as a public display of their wealth, rather than an expression of sentimentality towards the deceased. Despite their perceived permanence, however, stone monuments and their inscriptions are not everlasting. The evidence points to neglect and abandonment, even destruction, often within a single generation from the time of construction. Although older generations relied much less on tangible reminders, and much more on the verbal transmission of information in order to commemorate their dead relatives, it seems that, in recent years, the younger generations are remembering less and for a shorter period of time.

The present study is only one example of the research potential inherent in cemetery studies in a Modern Greek context. While more and more cemeteries, in the western world at least, are now being conserved and preserved as monuments to humanity and immortality, I hope that my own work will help in creating an awareness of the cultural significance of cemeteries and graves in Greece. Ultimately, this awareness may lead to appropriate measures for preservation, as well as an interest in further research and in the promotion of Greek cemetery studies.

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